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Edited by

FREDERIC GEORGE YOUNG

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EWING YOUNG IN THE FUR TRADE OF THE FAR SOUTHWEST, 1822-1834

By JOSEPH J. HILL
Bancroft Library, University of California

The present article aims to supplement the account of Ewing Young's activities in Oregon so ably presented by F. G. Young in the *Quarterly* for September, 1920, by giving a more detailed account of the part played by Ewing Young in the fur trade of the Far Southwest.[1] For the twelve years preceding the date of his arrival in Oregon in the summer of 1834, Young had been an active participant in the fur trade of the Far Southwest. He might even be regarded as its central figure for that period (1822-1834). But, so far as the writer's information goes, no adequate account of this part of his life has ever been compiled.

In order to present Young in his proper perspective in the fur trade of the Far Southwest, a very brief consideration of some of the more salient features of the fur trade in that region might be helpful.

Misconceptions concerning the fur trade in the Far

[1]The present article is but a portion of the larger work, *The American Fur Trade in the Far Southwest,* which in turn is one of a series of articles on the opening of the Southern Trails to California which the writer is preparing for publication. "The Old Spanish Trail" (*Hispanic American Historical Review,* IV., 444-473, August, 1921) is a part of this series.

Southwest. But few people, perhaps, realize that there was any considerable fur trade in the Far Southwest. They think of fur-bearing animals as living only in the colder regions to the north. They do not seem to appreciate the significance of the many "Beaver" and "Nutrias" creeks still on the map of the Southwest—indelible evidence of the presence of those much coveted animals in that region.

This is due largely to the fact that documents relating to this trade in the Southwest have been both consciously and unconsciously ignored by leading writers on the subject. Chittenden, in his monumental work, *The American Fur Trade in the Far West,* sums up the work of the Patties after their arrival in Santa Fé, in the fall of 1824, as follows: "The career of the Patties for the six years thereafter was mainly in the Far Southwest, in New Mexico, Arizona, and California, and does not fall within the scope of this work."[2] And yet the Pattie narrative gives an account of some half dozen trapping expeditions in that region. Chittenden, therefore, virtually says that the Southwest is not a part of the West. The American fur trade in the Far West to him seems to have meant the American fur trade in the Northwest, only.

Difficulties of the problem. With this attitude toward a document which he had in his hand and pretended to use, there is little wonder that he failed to find and use other documents containing material on the fur trade in the Southwest. On the whole, however, it is much more difficult to put the account together of the fur trade in the Southwest than it is to give the corresponding account of that industry in the Northwest. The reasons for this are quite apparent. The character of the business, itself, is one of the principal difficulties in the way of getting at its history. We need but to remark that the greater portion of the trade in this region was clan-

[2] II:507-8.

X740592

destine. None but Mexicans could legally obtain licenses to trap in Mexican waters. Mexicans, however, would not trap. The industry, therefore, fell, without competition, into the hands of American trappers. But as their activities in the field were unlawful, there was more or less of a tendency to conceal the real facts of what they were doing.

The fur traders of the Upper Missouri region usually had some sort of headquarters in Missouri, where their records and papers of various kinds accumulated and where many of them still remain, prized as historic collections. In the Southwest, on the other hand, trappers resorted to Taos and Santa Fé as outfitting depots where they disposed of their furs and made up their outfits for the next trapping expedition. They can seldom be said to have had any headquarters, and their papers and accounts, if they kept any, seem long since to have been lost.

Furthermore, the newspapers of St. Louis and other frontier settlements of Missouri announced the arrival and departure of trapping parties in and from those settlements for the Upper Missouri river. These newspaper accounts now form an important part of our information concerning the fur trade in the Upper Missouri and Rocky Mountain regions. But in New Mexico there were no newspapers during the period when trapping was at its height in the Southwest. Some echo of the activity in that section, of course, occasionally found its way into the Missouri papers but it was only an echo as compared with the accounts of the activity in the Northwest.

Some information has recently come to light from the documents in the Mexican archives, due to the efforts of Dr. Bolton, but a considerable portion of the information relating to the subject is to be found only in scraps—chance remarks here and there—a great number of which, while suggestive of the general movement, contain but few definite concrete details.

One of the difficulties of the situation is the Spanish method of handling foreign names. To illustrate, Ewing Young's name is rendered Joachin Joon, Joachin Yon, etc.; St. Vrain occurs in Spanish documents as Sambrano; Jonathan Trumbull Warner's name was changed to Juan José Warner; James Kirker is rendered into Spanish as Santiago Querque; Don Juan Gid possibly refers to Mr. Heath; Don Marcellin may be recognized as Marcellin St. Vrain. Thus we might continue indefinitely, but not always with absolute certainty in our identifications.

Summary of American fur trade in the Far Southwest. The story of the American fur trade in the Far Southwest may be outlined regionally and chronologically as follows:

1. The years 1815-1821 comprise the period of only partially successful attempts on the part of the American trappers to break into the Far Southwest.

II. From 1821 to 1823 was the period of the exploitation of the basin of the Rio del Norte. Practically all the tributaries of the Rio del Norte were visited by American trappers during these two years. In all there were upwards of a hundred men engaged in the trade during this period.

III. The years 1824-1826 mark the advance into the Colorado basin. A number of parties entered this basin in 1824, both by way of the San Juan and its tributaries and also by way of the Gila and its tributaries. By the end of 1826 practically every stream in the basin had been trapped and re-trapped so many times that the beaver were becoming scarce. The number of American trappers engaged in the business during this period reached into the hundreds, and the beaver fur that was caught brought the trappers more than a hundred thousand dollars.

IV. From 1826 to 1832 may be characterized as the period of the opening of the trappers' trails to California. During this period trappers made their way to California

over at least six different trails through the Southwest—the Pattie trail, the Jackson trail, the Young trail, the Armijo trail, the Wolfskill trail, and the Smith trail. The number of persons engaged in the trade during this period must have aggregated into the thousands.

V. The years 1832-1837 mark the period of the decline of the fur trade in the Far Southwest. By 1832 the caravan trade between Missouri on the one side and Sonora and California on the other had, to a considerable extent, supplanted the fur trade in the interest of the American frontiersmen. The streams, too, had been pretty thoroughly trapped by that time. Trapping continued beyond this date, it is true, but with decreasing significance and emanated principally from the Robidoux posts in the Colorado basin rather than from Santa Fé or Taos.

The inadequacy of the ordinary treatment of the fur trade in the Far Southwest illustrated. The usual treatment of the American fur trade in the Far Southwest sums up that industry for that region under the names of Jedediah S. Smith and James Ohio Pattie with casual mention, perhaps, of two or three others who followed them. As a sort of corrective of such a treatment of the subject it might be worth while to present a few of the names of prominent men engaged in the industry. Remember, however, that only those who played a conspicuous part are mentioned and that we might give the names of, perhaps, a hundred more and that the names of hundreds of others who took part in the business will, perhaps, never be known. With this preface we might mention the names of Joseph Philibert, Julius De Mun, A. P. Chouteau, William Becknell, Hugh Glenn, Jacob Fowler, Robert Fowler, Nathaniel Pryor, John McKnight, Robert McKnight, Stephen Cooper, John Heath, Samuel Chambers, James Baird, Ewing Young, Joe Walker, William Wolfskill, William Huddart, Sylvester Pratte, Sylvester and James Ohio Pattie, Ceran St. Vrain, Milton Sublette,

Thomas L. (Peg-leg) Smith, Antoine Robidoux, Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, David Waldo, Kit Carson, Moses Carson, Job F. Dye, Sidney Cooper, J. J. Warner, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Dick Wooton, Slover, Sinclair, Gaunt, Le Duke, La Bonté, etc.

The importance of Ewing Young in the fur trade of the Far Southwest. Of these names no one is deserving of greater consideration than that of Ewing Young. For some twelve years, as already stated, he was, perhaps, the central figure in the fur trade of the Far Southwest. Within those years he trapped the waters of the Rio del Norte, the Pecos, the San Juan, the Gila, the Colorado, and the Grand of the Rocky Mountain Southwest, and the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers of California. But he was more than a fur trapper. He was an organizer and leader of men, always at the head of the party which he accompanied, never just a lay member. He also equipped and financed parties which he did not accompany.

Young's initiation into the fur trade of the Far Southwest. Young was evidently a member of Becknell's expedition to New Mexico in 1821, for Barrows, in speaking of Becknell's 1822 expedition, says that Captain Becknell, Ewing Young, and a powder maker by the name of Ferrel had some kind of contract to supply the Mexican government with powder, which at that time was enormously high. The arranging of this contract must have been part of the business transacted during Becknell's short stay in Santa Fé on his 1821 expedition. In order, therefore, for Young to have been associated with Becknell in that contract it is evident that they must have been together in New Mexico at that time. Young must, also, have been one of Becknell's three companions on his return to Missouri in December of 1821, for Barrows speaks of him as a member of Becknell's 1822 expedition. Upon their arrival at Santa Fé in the summer of 1822, they set about exploring the neighboring country in

search of nitre, one of the essentials in their powder-making enterprise, but being unable to find any or to obtain it from any other source, the party broke up, and all but three or four went back to Missouri. Young and Wolfskill were among those who remained in New Mexico. In the fall of 1822 they, with others, formed a party which trapped the waters of the Pecos.[3]

The whereabouts of Young during the year 1823 are, at present, unknown. He may have returned to Missouri with the furs collected in the fall hunt but we have no documentary proof that such was the case. All we know is that he was not with Wolfskill who, in January, 1823, set out with a single companion on a trapping expedition down the Rio del Norte.

Young, Wolfskill, and Slover lead a trapping party to the San Juan, 1824. In February, 1824, Young, Wolfskill, Slover and others fitted out a trapping party at Taos to trap on the San Juan and other tributaries of the Colorado or Rio Grande of the West as it was then called. "The party was numerous at first, but as it made around the foot of the west side of the Sierra Madre, the various members, one after another, took down the different streams that suited them for hunting, till there only were left Mr. Wolfskill, Slover, and Young, whose object was to get outside of where trappers had ever been. They remained out till the beaver season was over and arrived again at Taos in June."[4] The furs collected in this expedition brought some ten thousand dollars.

The second expedition down the San Juan, 1824. A second and much larger expedition, one, in fact, consisting of about sixty or more men, made its way down the San Juan in the fall of 1824, but whether Young was a

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[3] H. D. Barrows, "The Story of an Old Pioneer. Biographical Sketch of Wm. Wolfskill" (*The Wilmington Journal,* October 20, 1866). This was originally printed over the initial "B," but was later read by H. D. Barrows before the Historical Society of Southern California and printed in the *Annual Publications* of that society for the year 1902, V. 287-294.

[4] *Ibid.*

member of that party we are at present unable to tell.[5] It may be considered quite probable that he was its organizer and leader. This assumption is based upon the following facts: He had just returned from that region, having made a successful hunt. The party which set out for the San Juan would naturally return to New Mexico in the following spring or early summer (1825). It is known that Young returned to Missouri some time during the summer of 1825.[6] But the documents, so far, are silent concerning his activities during the fall and winter of 1824-5.

The significance of the year 1826 in the fur trade of the Far Southwest. The year 1826 was a red letter year in the history of the American fur trade in the Far Southwest. It was especially notable for the number and size of the trapping parties which were fitted out soon after the arrival of the caravan from Missouri in the latter part of July of that year. As the leaders applied to Narbona, Governor of New Mexico, for passports to Sonora, he soon became aware, from the lack of merchandise for trading purposes and from the general conversation among the applicants, that the principal intentions of these persons could be reduced "to hunting beaver on the San Francisco, Gila, and Colorado rivers." He, therefore, wrote to the governor of Sonora informing him of the passports he had issued and the size and character of the parties to whom they had been granted. Unfortunately his use of foreign names makes it somewhat difficult to identify some of the individuals referred to. The list is enlightening, however, and gives an idea of the extent to which trapping was carried on at that time. He said that J. William (possibly refers to Isaac Williams) and Sambrano (St. Vrain) were taking

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[5] Augustus Storrs, *Answers . . . to Certain Queries upon the Origin, Present State, and Future Prospect of Trade and Intercourse between Missouri and the Internal Provinces of Mexico,* Washington, 1825, p. 11 (U. S. 18th Cong., 2d Ses. Senate Doc. 7, serial 108).

[6] U. S. 22d Cong., 1st Ses. Senate Doc. 90, p. 83, serial 213.

twenty-odd men; that Miguel Rubidu (Robidoux) and Pratt were taking thirty or more; that Juan Roles (possibly John Rueland) had eighteen in his party; and that Joaquin Joon (by which name Ewing Young was known in New Mexico) had eighteen more in his company.[7]

Young's expedition to the Gila, 1826. We are not primarily concerned in the present article with the various parties mentioned by Narbona other than the one led by Ewing Young. Some account of Young's activities during 1826 may be gleaned from the story of the life of William Wolfskill written by his son-in-law, H. D. Barrows, in 1866.[8] According to Barrows, William Wolfskill met Ewing Young in Missouri in the spring of 1826. He was then organizing a party to go to Santa Fé. Wolfskill joined the party. They were probably a part of the spring caravan of that year. Upon arriving in Santa Fé, Young was taken sick, and he hired Wolfskill to take charge of his party of eleven men who were going to trap on the Gila. The company set out, but were attacked by Indians and forced to return. Soon after the return of this party Young organized another company consisting of about thirty men for the same place, "where," Barrows adds, "he chastised the Indians, killing several chiefs, etc., so that his party were enabled to trap unmolested." Barrows speaks of Sublette and "Peg-leg" Smith as being in the party. Wolfskill was not a member of the second of these expeditions and his biographer, Barrows, gives no details concerning it.

With this account it is interesting to compare a statement in the newspaper story of the life of "Peg-leg" Smith, written at the time of his death in 1866 by some one who was, apparently, fairly well acquainted with his

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[7] Antonio Narbona to the Governor of Sonora, August 31, 1826, Ms. (Mexico. Archivo de Governacion. Comercio. Expediente 44, copy in Bancroft Library). Cf. T. M. Marshall, "St. Vrain's Expedition to the Gila in 1826" (*The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XIX, 251-260).

[8] "The Story of an Old Pioneer" (*The Wilmington Journal,* October 20,1866).

life's activities.[9] The account states that about this time (between 1825 and 1828, but unfortunately the exact date is not given), "Smith and Le Duke organized a party of five for a trapping expedition to the Gila river. All the party were well armed, and after two or three weeks' travel they found good trapping grounds and began to find beaver. They had been engaged about a fortnight when they were discovered by a band of Apaches, who came into their camp and made all sorts of manifestations of friendship. After being feasted they took their departure, but on passing where the trappers' horses were picketed one of the red rascals shot an arrow into an animal. This was regarded as a declaration of hostilities, and the trapping party concluded that it was best for them to leave that part of the country. They packed up and started. Smith and Sublette determined to take up their traps, and in attempting to do so were fired upon, a perfect shower of arrows falling about them. Sublette was hit in the leg, and it was only by the aid of Smith he managed to escape; the party lost their traps, but saved their scalps." The narrative says nothing at this point about a return to Santa Fé, but if the trappers lost all of their traps there was likely nothing else for them to do but to return for a new supply. "A few months later," the account continues, "when encamped in another part of the country, they were visited by a band of twenty Apaches, who were very arrogant. One of the trappers prepared a hearty meal for them, and as soon as the red skins were seated around the mess, Smith gave a war-whoop and opened the battle. He says, 'None of them fellows ever returned home to tell of that event; we fixed them all.' "

The similarity of the two accounts leads one to conclude that they both relate to the same expedition. The five men in the Smith and Le Duke group and the eleven

[9] "The Story of an Old Trapper. Life and Adventures of the Late Peg-leg Smith" (*San Francisco Bulletin,* October 26, 1866).

hired to Young under the command of Wolfskill taken together, if we may add the names of Young and one other who may have dropped out, check with the eighteen for which the passport was issued in the name of Joaquin Joon (Ewing Young) by Narbona in the latter part of August, 1826.

Still a third account which clearly relates to the same expedition is the statement of George C. Yount. Yount also came to New Mexico in the summer of 1826 in the caravan in which Young made the journey. Upon his arrival in Santa Fé, he says, he found business at a standstill, having been overdone by enterprising Americans. He was at last induced to join a band of free trappers under license from the governor of New Mexico to trap the Gila and Colorado rivers for beaver. On his way to the Gila his party passed the copper mines, in the vicinity of which they remained some three weeks. At the Boiling Springs three men abandoned the party, which Yount then says had numbered sixteen. This agrees with our previous calculations. The eleven in the Young party under the command of Wolfskill and the five in the Smith group bring the number up to the sixteen referred to by Yount. According to his statement the party proceeded down the Gila to the vicinity of the mouth of Salt River, on their way passing through the Pima villages. When near the mouth of Salt River they came upon the place where the Robidoux party had been massacred, as Yount says, "within the last three weeks."

Here the manuscript statement of Yount, preserved in the Bancroft Library, ends abruptly. This statement is apparently a copy of a fragment of a more complete account which seems to have been used as the basis of *The Sketch of the Life of George C. Yount*, written by his grand-daughter, Elizabeth Ann Watson. This *Sketch* continues the narrative by saying that "the trappers now numbered thirty-two and it was not long before they were surrounded by Indians, painted and with nodding plumes,

drawn bows, clubs, and spears. Smith, one of the trappers, fired his rifle; an Indian fell, and Smith, regardless of danger, secured his scalp and holding it at arm's length bade defiance to the Indians. Shot after shot followed and it was not long before the enemy fled, leaving their dead. Not a single trapper was hurt." That this is an account of the activities of Young's party about which Barrows narrates, is evidenced by the fact that both accounts refer to "Peg-leg" Smith as being in the party. But Yount makes no reference to the party's being defeated and driven back to New Mexico and of its being reorganized and enlarged from sixteen members to thirty-two before reaching the place of the massacre of the Robidoux party and the battle with the Maricopas. But, from the fact that he does give the number in the company first as sixteen and later as thirty-two, it would seem that there has been an omission somewhere.

The outcome of the expedition is told by Gregg as an anecdote on the first administration of Armijo, who succeeded Narbona as governor of New Mexico in May, 1827. Gregg says: "A law was then in existence which had been enacted by the General Congress prohibiting foreigners from trapping beaver in the Mexican territory, under penalty of confiscation, etc., but as there were no native trappers in New Mexico, Governor Baca and his successor (Narbona) thought it expedient to extend licenses to foreigners, in the name of citizens, upon condition of their taking a certain proportion of Mexicans to learn the art of trapping. In pursuance of this disposition, Governor Narbona extended a license to one Ewing Young, who was accompanied by a Mr. Sublette, brother of Captain Wm. Sublette, and almost equally celebrated for his mountain adventures. Previous to the return of this party from their trapping expedition, Armijo had succeeded Narbona in office and they were informed that it was his intention to seize their furs. To prevent this, they deposited them at a neighboring vil-

lage, where they were afterward discovered, seized and confiscated. The furs being damp, they were spread out in the sun before the *Guardia,* in Santa Fé, when Sublette, perceiving two packs of beaver which had been his own property, got by honest labor, instantly seized them and carried them away before the eyes of the whole garrison, and concealed both them and his own person in a house opposite. . . . Mr. Sublette finally conveyed his furs in safety to the frontier, and thence to the United States."[10]

This account of Gregg's is corroborated by the continuation of the narrative in the Watson *Sketch* in such a way that makes it perfectly clear that Yount was a member of the Ewing Young party. To pick up the account where we dropped it after the battle with the Maricopas, the *Sketch* states that the trappers explored the Gila River to its source. This, possibly, refers to Salt River, or Black River, the name by which it was known to the early trappers, for they had just descended the Gila. The *Sketch* continues: "A little below the villages of the Maricopas was a lake abounding in black beaver. In trapping on the Colorado they constructed a small water craft by scooping out cottonwood logs, after the method practised by the Indians. After many encounters with the hostile tribes of Indians, George Yount returned to New Mexico, having five hundred dollars in money and several thousand dollars' worth of furs, which he cached near Bitter Creek. These were confiscated later on, however, and George Yount had to postpone returning to his family for another year."

The date of this confiscation seems to be established as the summer of 1827 from an extract of a letter of José Augustin Escudero dated March 22, 1831, in which he says "that in the year 1827, when I was at Santa Fé, I learned that they [a company of Anglo-American trappers] compromised a wretch named Don Luís Cabeza de

[10] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies,* 1844. I, 227-8.

Vaca by persuading the miserable creature to receive smuggled skins into his house, which he had in the desert. This man, for resisting the search of his house, was lamentably shot and killed by the soldiers who assisted the arresting alcalde, who succeeded in taking out twenty-nine packs of very fine beaver skins which were spoiling that summer in the warehouse of the subcomissariat of the territory."[11]

Briefly, then, the points in common in these various accounts may be summed up as follows: The letter of Narbona, Governor of New Mexico, indicates that Ewing Young obtained a passport for eighteen men to go to the Gila in August, 1826, for the purpose of trapping beaver. According to Barrows there were eleven men hired to Young, but Young himself did not accompany the expedition as first organized. The story of the life of "Peg-leg" Smith states that Smith and Le Duke led a party of five to the waters of the Gila about this time and names Sublette as a member of the party. Barrows mentions "Peg-leg" Smith and Sublette as members of Young's party. The two groups apparently traveled together, making the party of sixteen referred to by Yount, as the Yount *Sketch* refers to "Peg-leg" Smith as being a member of the party which Yount accompanied. Barrows speaks of the party being attacked by the Apaches and forced to return to New Mexico where it was reorganized and increased to a company of "about thirty" with Young at its head. The Smith account says that the party was attacked by Apaches and lost all of its traps. Evidently it had to return to New Mexico for a new supply although the Smith account does not mention that detail. Yount, also, refers to the party at first as a company of sixteen, and the *Sketch* of his life speaks of it later as consisting of thirty-two. The Yount *Sketch* speaks of Yount's furs being confiscated upon his return to New Mexico. Gregg

[11] Jose Augustin Escudero, March 22, 1831 (Mexico. Archivo de Gobernacion. Jefes Politicos. 1831-1833. Legajo 59, No. 1).

informs us that that was what happened to the furs collected by Young and his men. Both accounts agree that the furs had been deposited at a neighboring village in order to avoid being apprehended by the Mexican authorities. Evidently the various accounts relate to the same expeditions.

The foregoing details are presented at length in order the more easily to compare them with the narrative of James Ohio Pattie, who, we shall see, evidently fell in with Young's party of "about thirty men" while on the Gila.

James Ohio Pattie's narrative of his expedition down the Gila and up the Colorado rivers. According to Pattie's narrative,[12] he left the copper mines in Southwestern New Mexico with a company of French trappers bound for the Gila. They traveled down the river beyond the point reached by the Pattie trapping party of 1824-5; and finally arrived at an Indian village situated on the south bank of the river where almost all the inhabitants spoke Spanish, "for," to quote Pattie, "it is situated only three days' journey from a Spanish fort in the province of Sonora. The Indians seemed disposed to be friendly to us. They are to a considerable degree cultivators, raising wheat, corn and cotton which they manufacture into cloths." The trappers had evidently reached the Pima villages near the mouth of the Santa Cruz wash. Three days beyond this village they arrived at the "Papawar" village, the inhabitants of which, Pattie says, "came running to meet us, with their faces painted, and their bows and arrows in their hands. We were alarmed at these hostile appearances, and halted. We told them that we were friends, at which they threw down their arms, laughing the while, and showing by their countenances that they were aware that we were frightened." Upon entering the village the Frenchmen separated among the Indians, and in the evening allowed their

[12] *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie,* 1833, p. 81 *et seq.*

arms to be taken from them and stacked together around a tree while they, themselves, retired among the Indians to sleep. Against this procedure Pattie remonstrated and, persuading one Frenchman, whom he says he had known in Missouri, to accompany him, made camp at some distance from the Indian village. In the middle of the night the Indians attacked the defenseless trappers, killing all but the captain and Pattie and his companion. The next night the three survivors fell in with a company of American trappers with a "genuine American leader." "We were now thirty-two in all," Pattie records. They planned an attack upon the Indians who were so completely surprised that 110 of them were killed before the rest could make their escape, and all the horses and property of the French company was recaptured.

This happened near the mouth of Salt River, up which the Americans now trapped, the party separating at the mouth of the Rio Verde, part ascending that stream and the rest continuing up Salt River. After trapping to the head of both streams the two parties re-united at the junction of the two streams and then proceeded down the Salt and Gila Rivers to the junction of the latter with the Colorado, where Pattie said they found a tribe of Indians called Umene (Yuma).

The trappers now turned their faces up the Colorado, passing through the territory of the "Cocomarecopper" (Cocomaricopa) and "Mohawa" (Mojave) Indians. The Mojaves demanded tribute for the privilege of trapping in the waters of their territory. The trappers would pay no tribute. In the parley an American horse and an Indian chief were killed. The next morning the Indians attacked the whites but were repulsed with the loss of sixteen of their number. A few days later they again attacked the trappers, this time killing two of the Americans. Here Pattie makes the comment: "Red River at this point bears a north course, and affords an abundance of the finest lands." The trappers were, therefore, evi-

dently in the Mojave valley. They continued up the river until they "reached a point of the river where the mountains shut in so close upon the shores that we were compelled to climb a mountain, and travel along the acclivity, the river still in sight, and at an immense depth beneath us." This was evidently at the mouth of Black Canyon. Up the river they continued for a hundred leagues, according to Pattie's estimate, through snow from a foot to eighteen inches deep, when they finally arrived at the place "where the river emerges from these horrid mountains, which so cage it up." This was possibly the opening between Lee's Ferry and the mouth of the San Juan. Here for a couple of days they trapped up a small stream which enters the main river from the north. This may have been the Paria, Sentinel Rock, or Warm Creek, all of which enter the Colorado between Lee's Ferry and the Crossing of the Fathers, so named from the fact that here the Dominguez-Escalante expedition crossed the Colorado on their homeward journey in 1776.

While in this vicinity they met a party of Shoshones who had recently destroyed a company of French hunters on the head waters of the Platte. Pattie here remarks: "One of our company could speak their language, from having been a prisoner among them for a year."

After a brief encounter with these Indians, the trappers resumed their march up the river to the point where it forked again. They had now evidently reached the mouth of the San Juan, for Pattie says they proceeded up the right hand fork (i. e., up the San Juan) to the chief village of the "Nabahoes" (Navajoes).

The trappers enquired of the Navajoes as to the best route across the Rocky Mountains and were informed that they would have to ascend the other fork. They, therefore, retraced their steps to the junction and then proceeded up the Colorado and Grand Rivers to the continental divide which they crossed near Long's Peak to the South Fork of the Platte.

From here the narrative becomes confused for some distance and it is impossible to trace their route with certainty. Pattie says that they descended the South Platte some five days, when they struck across to the North Platte, which they left in four days for the Bighorn. Crossing this, they set out for the Yellowstone, which they ascended to its head and then crossed the mountains to Clarke's Fork of the Columbia, which they ascended "to its head, which is in Long's Peak near the head waters of the Platte." A glance at the map shows at once how absolutely impossible it would be to follow this route. It is probable that the party became confused in their streams. We cannot be sure as to their route but the following is suggested as a possible solution of the difficulty. It may be that they crossed from the South Fork of the Platte to the Laramie which they mistook for the North Fork of the Platte. From there they crossed to the North Fork of the Platte which they thought to be the Bighorn, and then to the Sweetwater which they called the Yellowstone. From the Sweetwater they could have crossed to some of the streams flowing into Green River, possibly the Little Snake River, and then up the Yampa to its source not far from Long's Peak.

Crossing the mountains, they struck the Arkansas. Here they had an encounter with a party of Blackfoot Indians in which they killed sixteen Indians but lost four of their own men. They ascended the Arkansas to its head and then crossed the mountains to the Rio del Norte. From here they went to Santa Fé, where, Pattie records, "disaster awaited us. The governor, on the pretext that we had trapped without a license from him, robbed us of all our furs."

Comparison of Pattie's narrative with the accounts of Ewing Young's expedition, 1826-7. The points in common between the Pattie narrative and the fragmentary accounts that we have of the Ewing Young expedition are certainly striking, to say the least. In the first place

the French party with which Pattie had traveled from the copper mines was massacred in the vicinity of the mouth of Salt River, or Black River, as it was called by Pattie, which is also the name by which it is known on the early maps. This agrees with Yount's statement that the Robidoux party was massacred in that same locality. Pattie says there were thirteen in the French party. Yount speaks of it as a party of sixteen, but we have indicated how he might have been confused. Pattie tells us that the American company, of which he now became a member, numbered twirty-two, after he and his two companions had joined it. This agrees exactly with the Watson *Sketch*, and also with the Barrows account which says that Young set out at the head of a company of "about thirty." Pattie's "genuine American leader" can very appropriately be applied to Ewing Young. Pattie says that the American party attacked and defeated the Indians who had murdered the French party, without the loss of a single American. Mrs. Watson states that the American party with whom Yount was traveling had just such a battle in this same vicinity with a similar outcome and that Smith fired the first shot. Barrows says that "Peg-leg" Smith was a member of Ewing Young's party. According to Pattie, the American company now trapped up Black (Salt) River to its source. Salt River is one of the main branches of the Gila. The Watson *Sketch* says that the American party trapped the Gila to its source; but since they had just descended the Gila it is probably meant that they trapped to the source of the other main branch, i. e., Salt River, otherwise known as Black River. Pattie says that they then descended the Gila to the Colorado and then trapped up that stream and back to New Mexico. The Watson *Sketch* indicates that they trapped down the Gila and along the Colorado before returning to New Mexico. Pattie records that upon arriving in New Mexico their furs were confiscated. Gregg says that Young's party, of

whom Sublette was a member, had their furs confiscated, and Mrs. Watson states the same thing of Yount.

The difficulty of harmonizing Pattie's dates with those of Young's expedition. The chief difficulty in harmonizing the accounts of the Young and the Pattie expeditions is in connection with the dates of the Pattie narrative. According to Pattie, he left the copper mines on the second of January, 1826, and traveled down the Gila with a company of French trappers until the 28th of the month. It was the 29th of January that he fell in with the American company. They traveled up the Colorado and finally reached Santa Fé on the first of August, 1826. This was before Young's party left that place.

But Pattie's dates are very unreliable throughout his entire narrative. Where we have contemporary documents with which to check them as in the case of that portion of his narrative dealing with events in California, we are frequently able to show that his dates are inaccurate, in some cases, a number of months. It seems that he depended upon his memory for the major portion of his narrative, and so, while his facts usually appear to be fairly accurate, his dates are frequently wrong. It is possible, therefore, that he is out some nine months or more in his dates on this trip.

Difficulty of harmonizing Pattie's dates with other events. There are some things in the narrative, itself, which seem to make this conclusion imperative. In the first place, Pattie speaks of traveling the full length of the Grand Canyon through snow from a foot to eighteen inches deep. But according to his narrative it was in the month of April when they made that jonrney. Traveling on the south side of the Grand Canyon, it would be rather unusual to find snow that deep at that season of the year. Further, according to Pattie, it was the first of August, 1826, that the company reached Santa Fé and had their furs confiscated. But Narbona was still gov-

ernor of New Mexico until May, 1827, and his attitude towards the American trappers had been one of leniency. Later in this very month (August, 1826) he issued licenses, as we have indicated, to a number of parties of American trappers, knowing full well that they were bound for the Gila to trap beaver. Pattie says that he left the copper mines on the second of January and that the American party, of which he later became a member, continued trapping until nearly the first of the next August, when they arrived at Santa Fé. But this was contrary to the regular trapping custom. The trapping season in the Far Southwest was the fall, winter and spring; in the regions farther north it was the fall and spring only. Never did the trappers continue their trapping activities into the hot summer months, nor would they be apt to wait until the first of January to start.

The probability of Pattie's narrative being an account of the expeditions of Miguel Robidoux and Ewing Young. Taking all things into consideration it is evident that Pattie's narrative gives an account of the expedition of Miguel Robidoux from the Santa Rita copper mines down the Gila to the mouth of Salt River, where the Robidoux party was massacred, and then continues with an account of the expedition of Ewing Young on the Gila and up the Colorado in the fall and winter of 1826 and the spring of 1827.

Significance of the identification. With this identification established we are able now, for the first time, to apply the Pattie narrative to the Ewing Young expedition. Heretofore, because Pattie's name was the only one mentioned in the narrative, it has been thought of as Pattie's expedition. We can now think of it from the point of view of the organizer and leader rather than from that of an egotistical boy who happened to be picked up along the way.

To sum up the expedition we might say that after a journey of some three or four thousand miles Young and

his men, with twenty-nine packs of beaver worth from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars, finally arrived at Santa Fé early in the summer of 1827, there to have their furs confiscated by the new governor, Manuel Armijo.

But Young could not be driven from the field simply by losing the furs of one year's catch. As a precautionary measure, however, he proceeded to obtain passports from the government at Washington which he, henceforth, carried as a protection against another possible confiscation of his furs.

Young sends trapping party from Taos to the Colorado, 1828. For the two years after the confiscation of his furs in the summer of 1827, until August, 1829, we have, as yet, but little information concerning the movements of Young. In the summer of 1828, with a load of merchandise purchased from William Wolfskill who had just arrived from Missouri, Young fitted out a party to trap on the Colorado River. He, himself, however, seems to have remained at Taos, apparently engaged with Wolfskill in general trading business there. During that summer Wolfskill was sent to Paso del Norte for a load of wines, brandy, panocha, etc., which he brought to Taos in the spring of 1829. In the meantime Young's trappers had returned, having been attacked by Indians and compelled to retreat.[13]

Young's first expedition to California, 1829-30.[14] Young now fitted out another party of some forty men, and placing himself at its head, set out again for the Colorado. This was the beginning of his now famous expedition to California. Of the personnel of the party we know but little. Christopher (Kit) Carson, who was a

[13] Christopher Carson, *Kit Carson's Story as Told by Himself.* Ms. in Bancroft Library. Barrows, "The Story of an Old Pioneer" (*The Wilmington Journal,* October 20, 1866).

[14] The best account of this expedition is in Christopher Carson, *Kit Carson's Story as Told by Himself. Ms.* in Bancroft Library. J. J. Warner's account of the expedition in his *Reminiscence of Early California. Ms.* in Bancroft Library, contains a number of inaccurate and misleading statements.

member of the party, says that it was composed of "Americans, Canadians, and Frenchmen," but, aside from that of Young, he gives the names of only two members —James Lawrence, who was shot by James Higgins. The names of three others, Francois Turcote, Jean Vaillant, and Anastase Carier, appear in the California archives as deserters of the main company seeking passports to return to New Mexico.[15]

The company left Taos in August, 1829. In order to make it appear that they were setting out for the United States and thus throw the Mexicans off their trail, they traveled northward some fifty miles through the San Luis Valley and then turned southwest through the Navajo country to Zuñi. From Zuñi they directed their course to the head of Salt River, down which they trapped to Rio Verde, or San Francisco River as it was then called, and from there up that stream to its head. Here the party was divided, about half of it being sent back to Taos with the furs thus far taken, and the rest, eighteen in number, set out for California. Of the portion of the company bound for New Mexico we have no further information.

Kit Carson happened to be in the division bound for California and has left us an account of that portion of the trip. From the head waters of the Rio Verde, the trappers took a more or less direct route to the Colorado, which they struck "below the great Cañon." This part of the journey had been over barren country practically destitute of water, and had required two forced marches of four days each to cross it. About fifteen miles northeast from Truxton is a watering place indicated on the early maps of Arizona as Young Spring. This is probably the place where Young's men quenched their thirst after the first of these four-day forced marches. At the Colorado, they met a band of Mojave Indians, from whom

[15] Manuel Jimeno Casarin, July 31, 1830 (Departmental State Papers, Benicia. Custom House II, 4-5. *Ms.* in Bancroft Library).

they purchased an old mare which was killed for food, and from whom the trappers also obtained a small quantity of beans and corn.

Crossing the Colorado, possibly in the vicinity of the present El Dorado ferry, they took a southwest course, following which, in three days they came upon the dry bed of the Mojave River, up which they proceeded two days before coming to any visible water. Ascending the Mojave, their natural route led through the Cajón Pass, four days to the westward of which brought them to the San Gabriel mission.

Staying at San Gabriel but a single day, Young and his men proceeded north to the mission of San Fernando and thence to the waters of the San Joaquin River, where they trapped until July, 1830. How long a time this was is a matter of speculation, as the date of their arrival in California is not known. In reading the account of the expedition as recorded by Peters, one gets the impression that the trappers had come straight through from New Mexico, having spent very little time on the way. To make matters worse, Peters antedates the departure of the company from Taos several months, giving the date of the setting out as April, 1829, instead of August of that year as stated by Carson, himself. This had the effect of making the events which actually happened in the summer of 1830 appear to have happened in the summer of 1829. The trappers probably remained on Salt River and its branches until sometime in the winter of 1829-30 and thus arrived in California early in the year of 1830.

While on the San Joaquin they fell in with a company of Hudson's Bay trappers from the Columbia River under the command of Peter Skene Ogden. The two companies trapped together for some time when Ogden finally set out for the Columbia, leaving Young in possession of the field.

In the first part of July, 1830, an incident happened

which gave Young an opportunity to call at the mission of San José and to establish friendly relations with the Spanish authorities.[16] To begin at the beginning of the story, a number of Christian Indians had run away from that mission and had fled to the mountains where they had been befriended by the gentiles. The alcalde, Francisco Jiménez, was dispatched to look for the fugitives. A battle ensued in which the Spaniards and their auxiliaries were driven back. Being told by Indians of the presence of the Americans on the streams of the Sierra Nevada, Jiménez immediately set out to find them and obtain what help he could from them. A party of eleven men under the command of Kit Carson was dispatched to assist the Spaniards. The result was that the Indians were defeated and forced to deliver up the fugitives.

Taking advantage of the situation, Young with three of his men, on July 11, took occasion to present himself at the Mission of San José for the purpose of ingratiating himself with the Spaniards and of opening trading relations with them. In answer to questions put to him at that time, he stated that he had twenty-two men in his company, all but one of whom had set out with him from the San Luís valley, a day's journey from New Mexico. The other one had been added to his party from the English trappers whom he had met—the Hudson's Bay party under Ogden. His passports were examined and arrangements were made to trade his furs for horses.

A week later Young returned to the mission with his furs which he traded to Don José Asero, captain of a trading ship in port. With the proceeds of the sale, he purchased horses and mules and returned to his camp in the mountains. A few days later a band of Indians succeeded in entering camp and driving off some sixty head of horses. Twelve of the trappers on the remaining horses immediately set out in pursuit but had to

[16] Jose Berreyeza, July 15, 1830 (Departmental State Papers, II, 135-139. *Ms.* in Bancroft Library).

travel upwards of a hundred miles, according to Carson,[17] before they overtook the Indians and recaptured the stolen animals, five of which, however, had been killed by the Indians who were at the time feasting upon the stolen property.

About this time, possibly during the very time while Young was absent in pursuit of the Indians, three members of his party, whose names indicate that they were Frenchmen, deserted and proceeded to Monterey where on July 31, 1830, they applied for passports to return to Taos, from which place they stated they had come with Joaquin John (Ewing Young). Young and the loyal members of his party, however, forced the deserters back into line and compelled them to remain with the party.

After spending the summer on the various streams flowing into the San Joaquin, Young in September, 1830, set out on his return to New Mexico. On his way he stopped at Los Angeles where he nearly lost control of his men owing to the freedom with which liquor was there supplied to them, either maliciously or otherwise. Young suspected that it was a plot on the part of the officials to get his men intoxicated and then to arrest them. Howsoever that may be, he finally succeeded in rousing them sufficiently to get them moving and thus prevented any serious mishap to the expedition. An accident, however, occurred in spite of Young's efforts. Two of his half-drunk men got to quarreling and one (James Higgins) shot and killed James Lawrence. Young says that he had to leave the dead man in the road where he had been killed.

These incidents made it impossible for Young to realize certain plans already partially matured. While at San José, Young had met J. B. Cooper, who figures prominently in the coast trade of the time. It appears that Cooper had endeavored to induce Young to enter

[17] See also, Ewing Young to J. B. Cooper, October 10, 1830 (Vallejo, *Documentos para la Historia de California,* XXX, 135. *Ms.* in Bancroft Library).

into the mule trade. Apparently there had been some talk of driving the mules through New Mexico to the United States. Young had planned to trap on the Colorado until December and then bring his furs to the coast and sell them, possibly to Cooper, and with the proceeds buy mules. After the Los Angeles affair he gave up the plan and on October 10, 1830, wrote Cooper that he had lost confidence in his men and did not dare to return with them to Los Angeles. He also wrote that he wished to ascertain how mules were selling in Mexico before he engaged in the speculation as he had no idea of taking mules to the United States until peace could be established with the Comanche Indians.[18]

From Los Angeles, Young and his party retraced their previous trail to the Colorado and trapped down that stream to tide water, and then up the Colorado and the Gila and over to the copper mines, at that time in the hands of Robert McKnight. At the copper mines Young took the precaution of depositing his furs while he went to Santa Fé to ascertain the situation there before bringing them in. At Santa Fé he procured a license to trade with the Indians about the copper mines, and with this subterfuge, returned to the mines and got the furs which according to Carson amounted to some two thousand pounds.

It was probably during the month of April, 1831, that Young again reached Taos. Carson gives the date as April, 1830, but as we have seen from documents already quoted, he has evidently made a mistake of a year in his date.

Other expeditions to California during the absence of Young. While Young was out on this expedition two other companies from New Mexico and possibly one from the Great Basin made their way to California. The two from New Mexico were led respectively by Antonio Armijo and William Wolfskill. We are unable to say

[18] *Ibid.*

who was the leader of the one from the Great Basin but "Peg-leg" Smith was a member of the party. But it is not within the scope of the present article to consider the movements of these parties.

The Smith, Jackson, and Sublette expedition to Santa Fé, 1831. In the summer of 1831, shortly after the return of Young from California, a caravan of more than ordinary significance arrived at Santa Fé from Independence, Missouri. The organizers and principal proprietors in this company as it left Missouri were Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and William Sublette, of Rocky Mountain fame. When the company reached Santa Fé, however, on July 4, 1831, Smith was no longer at its head. He had been killed by a band of Comanche Indians, lying in ambush at one of the water holes of the Cimarron River. His death naturally brought about a dissolution of the company. Shortly afterwards Sublette returned to Missouri. Jackson, however, remained in New Mexico and with David Waldo and Ewing Young entered the fur trade of the Far Southwest under the firm name of Jackson, Waldo, and Company.

Jackson, Waldo, and Company send two parties to California, 1831. In the fall of 1831 two parties were sent out by this company—one was to go to California to purchase mules to be taken to the United States; the other was a trapping party destined for the waters of the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys.

Jackson leads a party to California to purchase mules, 1831. The first of these expeditions left Santa Fé under the command of Jackson on August 29, 1831, according to Austin Smith whose brother, Peter, accompanied the party.[19] The company consisted of eleven men. Each had a riding mule, and there were seven pack mules, the loads

[19] J. J Warner was a member of the company, and his *Reminiscences of Early California, Ms.* in Bancroft Library, is our most detailed authority for this expedition. This is not the same although, in general outline, similar to his "Reminiscences of Early California from 1831 to 1846" printed in the *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* for 1907-1908, VII, pp. 176-193.

of five of which were Mexican silver dollars. They traveled the regular route down the Rio del Norte, past the Santa Rita copper mines, the abandoned mission San Xavier del Bac, the presidio of Tucson, the Pima Indian villages on the Gila, down the Gila to the Colorado, which they crossed a few miles below the mouth of the Gila, and past the mission San Luis Rey to San Diego, thence by the coast to Los Angeles which they reached December 5, 1831. From Los Angeles, Jackson and the majority of his party went north as far as the missions on the southern shores of the Bay of San Francisco for the purpose of purchasing mules.

Young leads trapping party to California, 1831. While they were thus engaged, we shall go back and follow the movements of the other party. This one was under the command of Ewing Young and consisted of thirty-six men, according to Job E. Dye,[20] who was a member of the party and who has left us an account of the trip. The names of seventeen members of the company are recorded in Dye's narrative as follows: Sidney Cooper, Moses Carson, Benjamin Day, Isaac Sparks, Joseph Gale, Joseph Dofit, John Higans, Isaac Williams, James Green, Cambridge (Turkey) Green, James Anderson, Thomas Low, Julian Bargas, José Teforia, John Price, and Job F. Dye.

The exact date on which the party set out is not stated. Dye simply says that they "left San Fernando [Taos] in October, 1831." In three days, he says, they reached the Zuñi village, where they remained two days, "for the purpose of obtaining from the Indians a sufficient supply of *pinole* (roasted corn meal) and *pinoche* (sugar) and *frijoles* (beans) required for the route." This is just an illustration of the position occupied by the Zuñi Indian villages. They were frequently visited by parties setting out down the Gila, as the last place where supplies might

[20] "Recollections of a Pioneer of California" (*Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 8-15, 1869).

be obtained before entering the wilderness. From Zuñi the trappers proceeded over the mountains to the headwaters of Blackwater, and thence down that stream to where it enters into Salt River. Here, Dye says, they "found beaver plenty and caught a great number of them."

While on Salt River a dispute arose between Cambridge Green and James Anderson, "each one claiming that the other had set his traps on pre-empted ground," the outcome of which was that Green shot and killed Anderson.

From the upper waters of Salt River they seem to have crossed over to the Gila, as Dye speaks of them as descending the Gila to the San Carlos and through the Gila cañon. While in this vicinity they were considerably worried by the Apaches with whom they had a number of skirmishes. Continuing down the river they passed the Pima villages where they obtained supplies of *pemican, pinole* and *frijoles*. They then pushed on down the Gila and Colorado until they reached tide-water.

Here, Dye says, they crossed the Colorado and thirteen out of the company concluded to cross the desert to the California settlements. The others turned back. Dye is somewhat vague in this part of his story. He says that it was about the first of January when they reached tide-water. But it was not until about the middle of March when they reached Los Angeles. He does not account for the intervening period. In 1849 he crossed from Sonora to California by what he said was the same route that he followed in 1832. But in the 1849 expedition he states that he crossed above the mouth of the Gila. On the later expedition he claims to have discovered New River which he says did not exist in 1832. This might lead one to conclude that although they reached tide-water on the 1832 trip, that perhaps they returned up the river to the mouth of the Gila where they crossed as in the

later journey and then proceeded across the desert to Los Angeles where they arrived March 14, 1832.

Jackson returns to New Mexico with mules, 1832. Early in April, Jackson returned from the north with about 600 mules and 100 horses. As this was a much smaller number than it was hoped he would obtain, the plans of the two partners were somewhat altered. Instead of the two companies joining and all proceeding together through Texas to Louisiana, as it had been tentatively planned, it was now resolved that Jackson should return to New Mexico with the purchased animals along the route he had come out, while Young, after assisting Jackson to cross the Colorado, should spend the summer in California hunting sea otter and in the fall proceed with a party of trappers to the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers for a beaver hunt.

The return trip began in May. The company broke camp on the Santa Anna River at La Sierra Rancho and set out for the Colorado, arriving there in June. After the crossing was effected, which was done with considerable difficulty and the loss of a number of animals, owing to the high water, Young with some five men returned to California while the rest of the company proceeded to New Mexico. Further details of the Jackson division of the company have not been preserved.

Young engages in otter hunting along the California coast, 1832. Upon arriving again in Los Angeles in June, 1832, Young arranged with Father Sanches, who was then in charge of San Gabriel mission and who owned a brig commanded by Captain William Richardson, to transport his party on an otter-hunting expedition. The party consisted of seven men, according to Warner, two of whom were Kanakas. Young seems soon to have tired of the sport of shooting otters after having been "spilt out of the canoe into the surf a number of times," and so left the party when near Point Conception and proceeded by land to Monterey. The rest of the party cruised

along the coast from Point Conception to San Pedro but with what success we are not told.

Young's trapping expedition in the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, 1832-34. From Monterey Young proceeded to Los Angeles where he gathered a company of some fourteen men, including his otter hunting party which had by that time returned to Los Angeles, for a beaver hunt. In the early part of October they set out by way of Fort Tejón and the western shore of the Tulare Valley lakes to the mouth of King's River. They trapped up that stream and then crossed to the San Joaquin which they descended as far as Fresno River when it was discovered that the San Joaquin and its tributaries from there on had been recently trapped. Young therefore pushed on without delay to the Sacramento River. A few miles below the mouth of the American River he came upon a large company of Hudson's Bay trappers under Michel La Framboise.

"This party," Warner tells us, "had been in the valley since early in the spring of 1832, having come in over the McLeod trail, and had trapped all the waters of the valley north and west of the San Joaquin River."

In January, 1833, after having been marooned for several weeks on the Sacramento, Young and his men made their way to the northwest by way of the southern and western shores of Clear Lake to the Pacific coast which they struck some seventy-five miles north of Fort Ross. "Young followed along the coast," to quote Warner, "searching with little success for rivers having beaver, and in fruitless attempts to recross the mountain range, until near the Umpquah River, where he succeeded in getting over the mountains and fell upon that river at the eastern base of the coast range of mountains. This river was followed up to its southeastern source, and then traveling Smith's trail, he struck the Klamath Lake near its northern extremity. From thence he traveled southerly along its western shore, and, crossing the

along the coast from Point Conception to San Pedro but with what success we are not told.

Young's trapping expedition in the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, 1832-34. From Monterey Young proceeded to Los Angeles where he gathered a company of some fourteen men, including his otter hunting party which had by that time returned to Los Angeles, for a beaver hunt. In the early part of October they set out by way of Fort Tejón and the western shore of the Tulare Valley lakes to the mouth of King's River. They trapped up that stream and then crossed to the San Joaquin which they descended as far as Fresno River when it was discovered that the San Joaquin and its tributaries from there on had been recently trapped. Young therefore pushed on without delay to the Sacramento River. A few miles below the mouth of the American River he came upon a large company of Hudson's Bay trappers under Michel La Framboise.

"This party," Warner tells us, "had been in the valley since early in the spring of 1832, having come in over the McLeod trail, and had trapped all the waters of the valley north and west of the San Joaquin River."

In January, 1833, after having been marooned for several weeks on the Sacramento, Young and his men made their way to the northwest by way of the southern and western shores of Clear Lake to the Pacific coast which they struck some seventy-five miles north of Fort Ross. "Young followed along the coast," to quote Warner, "searching with little success for rivers having beaver, and in fruitless attempts to recross the mountain range, until near the Umpquah River, where he succeeded in getting over the mountains and fell upon that river at the eastern base of the coast range of mountains. This river was followed up to its southeastern source, and then traveling Smith's trail, he struck the Klamath Lake near its northern extremity. From thence he traveled southerly along its western shore, and, crossing the

El Presbitero D. Antº José Martinez Cura propio de esta Parroquia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe
Certifico en la mas amplia forma que en mi libro de partidas de bautismos de dicho curato empezado en Octubre mil ochocientos veinte y nueve se halla una que a la letra dice = Partida = En esta Parroquia de Jesus a los veinte y cinco dias del mes de Enero de mil ochocientos treinta y tres yo el Presbº Dn Antº José Martinez bautizé solemnemente, puse bálsamos y oleos y Sagrado Crisma, a un parvulo de cuatro dias de nacido, y le puse por nombre José Joaquin, hijo natural de María Josefa Trejo natural de esta Parroquia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe abuelos maternos Jose Antonio Trejo y Antonia Francisca Bernal: fueron padrinos Ricardo Coulbolt y María Rosa Grijalba, quienes advertidos del contenido se firmaron el padre natural Joaquin Trejo Extrangero Conste = Es copia fiel de su original a que me remito, Concuerda fielmente con su original, a que me refiero, Constando todo que fue, en que se actuó la diligencia de la glosa y para que Conste, a peticion de la Mª Josefa Trejo, madre de dicho Jose Joaquin, le doy la presente certificada en esta glosa de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Condado de Sonoma, a los veinte y siete dias del mes de Junio del año del Señor de mil ochocientos cincuenta y dos, y firmé.

Dn José Martinez

Certifico que el Presbº Dn Antonio José Martinez es el cura propio de esta parroquia de Sonoma y que tiene en su poder los registros de partidas de bautismos y entierros

Sonoma Junio 27 de 1852

Justice of the peace

Klamath and Rogue rivers and passing through the camp where McLeod lost his horses and valuable catch of beaver skins, crossed Pitt River and entered the Sacramento valley, which he descended to the American River and then crossed the country to the San Joaquin River, up which he traveled to the great bend and then to the mouth of King's River, where, striking the trail of the preceding year, he followed it southerly to Lake Elizabeth, where, leaving it, he traveled more easterly along the northern base of the mountain to the San Bernardino, Cajón Pass, through which he entered the valley of San Bernardino in December, 1833, and passing on to Temecula, took the trail upon which he had come from the Colorado in the spring of 1832, and returned to that river to make a winter and spring season hunt upon it and the lower part of the Gila River. He was moderately successful in this hunt and returned to Los Angeles in the early part of the summer of 1834."[21]

Upon his return to the Spanish settlements of California, Young met Hall J. Kelley and was induced by him to go to Oregon where he settled and became one of the leading American citizens in that territory. With this expedition he therefore drops out of the fur trade of the Far Southwest.

Summary of Young's activities in the fur trade of the Far Southwest, 1822-34. For some twelve years he had been one of the central figures in that trade. A complete account of his activity during that twelve years would give us a very full account of the fur trade in the Far Southwest during its most flourishing period. Unfortunately, he wrote but little, himself, and no one personally acquainted with his activities has left us any record of his life. It is, therefore, with difficulty that anything like a complete account of his movements during this period may be pieced together.

[21] I have here followed the text of the printed version in the *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California,* VII, 187-8.

The bearing of the above on the settlement of Ewing Young's estate. In view of the foregoing, it might be interesting to call to mind a few of the events of early Oregon history. As indicated in the *Quarterly* for September, 1920, Ewing Young settled in Oregon in 1834 where he died, intestate, in 1841 with several thousand dollars' worth of property and with no known heirs. His property was taken over by the provisional government of Oregon and held in trust until 1855 when it was finally turned over to a young man signing himself Joaquin Young, who satisfactorily proved that he was the natural son of Ewing Young and Maria Josefa Tafoya, a New Mexican woman.

One of the principal documents used in proving his claim was the certification of his baptism, recorded by the priest at Taos in the parish baptismal record book. The record reads: "In this parish church of Taos on the 12th of April, 1833 *(mil ochocientos treinto y tres)*[22], I, the priest Don Antonio José Martinez, baptized solemnly, applied the holy oil and sacred baptism to a boy four days old and I gave as name José Joaquin, the natural son of Maria Josefa Tafoya . . . God parents Richard Cambell and Maria Rosa Gripalba, who said that his natural father Joaquin John, a foreigner, dwelling in this place, invited them." An affidavit signed by Charles Beaubien, C. Carson, and Manuel Lefebre stated that Joaquin John was the name by which Ewing Young was known in New Mexico. Thus the identity of the young man was sufficiently proved and the proceeds from the estate of Ewing Young were delivered to him.

But the whereabouts of Ewing Young during the summer of 1832 seems never to have occurred to anyone as an item of consequence in the identification of the young man or in the awarding of the property of Ewing Young to him. In view of the fact that Ewing Young left New Mexico in October of 1831, as we have shown above, on

[22] See accompanying plate.

his second expedition to California, and that he never returned to New Mexico, it might now be asked how he could be the father of a child born to a New Mexican woman on the 8th of April, 1833.

RECOLLECTIONS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BONNEY

By Fred Lockley

Recently while in Mulino I spent an afternoon with B. F. Bonney. "I was christened Benjamin Franklin," said Mr. Bonney. "My father, Jarvis Bonney, was born in New York City on Oct. 14, 1793. His people were from Scotland. My mother, whose maiden name was Jane Elkins, was also born in New York City on March 11, 1809.

"My mother was my father's second wife. He had five children by his first wife and nine children by his second wife. I am the second child of the second brood. I was born in Fulton Co., Ill., on Nov. 28, 1838.

"My father was a millwright, carpenter, cabinet maker and cooper. When I was a boy flour sacks were not used, flour being shipped in barrels. My father ran a cooper shop and manufactured flour barrels near what is now called Smithfield, Ill.

"There was so much fever and ague in Illinois, father decided to move. He had heard of Oregon. The thing that decided him to come to Oregon was he had heard there were plenty of fish here. Father was a great fisherman, and while he caught pike and red horse there, he wanted to move to a country where he could catch trout and salmon.

"My father put in his spare time for some months making a strong sturdy wagon in which to cross the plains. My father's brother, Truman Bonney, after talking the matter over with my father, decided that he also would come to Oregon. He had a large family.

My father and mother, with their children, Edward, Harriet, Truman, Martha Jane, Emily, Ann and myself, started for the Willamette Valley on April 2, 1845. There were over 3000 people who started for Oregon in the spring of 1845.

"Presley Welch was captain of one of the trains, Joel Palmer and Samuel K. Barlow being his lieutenants. Samuel Hancock was captain of another train. Both of these trains left from Independence, Mo. Another company with over 50 wagons left from St. Joe. The captain of this wagon train being A. Hackelman. Still another wagon train left St. Joe, Mo., under command of W. G. T'Vault, John Waymire being his assistant. Sol Tetherow was in command of still another wagon train.

"I was seven years old when we started for Oregon. I can well remember what a hullabaloo the neighbors set up when father said we were going to Oregon. They told him his family would all be killed by the Indians, or if we escaped the Indians we would either starve to death or drown or be lost in the desert, but father was not much of a hand to draw back after he had put his hand to the plow, so he went ahead and made ready for the trip. He built a large box in the home-made wagon and put in a lot of dried buffalo meat and pickled pork. He had made over a hundred pounds of maple sugar the preceding fall which we took along instead of loaf sugar. He also took along plenty of corn meal. At Independence, Mo., he laid in a big supply of buffalo meat and bought more coffee. He also laid in a plentiful supply of home twist tobacco. Father chewed it and mother smoked it. To this day I enjoy seeing some white-haired old lady smoking her Missouri meerschaum, as we used to call the old corn cob pipes in those days. It reminds me of my mother.

"When we passed through Independence it was merely a trading post. The Indians were camped all around and were anxious to trade buffalo robes for shirts, powder, lead and fire water, preferably the latter. Father bought four finely tanned buffalo robes of the Indians.

"There were several stores in Independence, a number of blacksmith shops and wagon shops as well as livery stables and hotels.

"At Independence we joined the Barlow wagon train. Barlow soon took command of the train. In those days you could size a man up, but you can't do it any more, there isn't the opportunity. Barlow had good judgment, was resourceful, accommodating and firm.

"One man in the company by the name of Gaines had a fine outfit. He had six wagons and was well to do. He settled in Polk County.

"One of the things I remember very vividly was a severe thunder storm that took place in the middle of the night. The thunder seemed almost incessant, and the lightning was so brilliant you could read by its flashes. The men chained the oxen so they would not stampede, though they were very restive. Our tents were blown down as were the covers off our prairie schooners and in less than five minutes we were wet as drowned rats. Unless you have been through it you have no idea of the confusion resulting from a storm on the plains, with the oxen bellowing, the children crying and the men shouting, the thunder rolling like a constant salvo of artillery; with everything as light as day from the lightning flashes and the next second as black as the depth of the pit.

"At Fort Hall we were met by an old man named Caleb Greenwood and his three sons; John was 22, Britain 18, and Sam 16. Caleb Greenwood, who originally hailed from Novia Scotia, was an old mountain man and was said to be over 80 years old. He had been a scout and trapper and had married a squaw, his sons being half breeds. He was employed by Captain Sutter to come to Fort Hall to divert the Oregon-bound emigrants to California. Greenwood was a very picturesque old man. He was dressed in buckskin and had a long heavy beard and used very picturesque language. He called the Oregon emigrants together the first evening we were in Fort Hall and made a talk. He said the road to Oregon was dangerous on account of the Indians. He told

us that while no emigrants had as yet gone to California, there was an easy grade and crossing the mountains would not be difficult. He said that Capt. Sutter would have ten Californians meet the emigrants who would go and that Sutter would supply them with plenty of potatoes, coffee and dried beef. He also said he would help the emigrants over the mountains with their wagons and that to every head of a family who would settle near Sutter's Fort, Captain Sutter would give six sections of land of his Spanish land grant. After Greenwood had spoken the men of our party held a pow-wow which lasted nearly all night. Some wanted to go to California, while others were against it. Barlow, who was in charge of our train, said that he would forbid any man leaving the train and going to California. He told us we did not know what we were going into, that there was a great uncertainty about the land titles in California, that we were Americans and should not want to go to a country under another flag. Some argued that California would become American territory in time; others thought that Mexico would fight to hold it and that the Americans who went there would get into a mixup and probably get killed.

"The meeting nearly broke up in a mutiny. Barlow finally appealed to the men to go to Oregon and make Oregon an American territory and not waste their time going to California to help promote Sutter's land schemes.

"Next morning old Caleb Greenwood with his boys stepped out to one side and said: 'All you who want to go to California drive out from the main train and follow me. You will find there are no Indians to kill you, the roads are better, and you will be allowed to take up more land in California than in Oregon, the climate is better, there is plenty of hunting and fishing, and the rivers are full of salmon.'

"My father, Jarvis Bonney, was the first one of the Oregon party to pull out of the Oregon train and head

south with Caleb Greenwood. My uncle, Truman Bonney, followed my father, then came Sam Kinney of Texas, then came Dodson and then a widow woman named Teters, and some others. There were eight wagons in all that rolled out from the main train to go to California with Caleb Greenwood.

"The last thing those remaining in the Barlow train said to us was, 'Good-bye, we will never see you again. Your bones will whiten in the desert or be gnawed by wild animals in the mountains.'

"After driving southward for three days with Caleb Greenwood, he left us to go back to Fort Hall to get other emigrants to change their route to California. He left his three boys with us to guide us to Sutter's Fort. Sam, the youngest of the three boys, was the best pilot, though all three of them knew the country as well as a city man knows his own back yard.

"We headed southwest. I never saw better pasture than we had after leaving the main traveled road. Our oxen waxed fat and became unruly and obstreperous. After two weeks traveling we struck a desert of sand and sage brush.

"Breaking the way through the heavy sage brush was so hard on the lead team of oxen that their legs were soon bruised and bleeding, so each wagon had to take its turn at the head of the train for half a day, then drop to the rear. On this sage brush plain we found lots of prickly pears. We children were barefooted and I can remember yet how we limped across that desert, for we cut the soles of our feet on the prickly pears. The prickly pears also made the oxen lame, for the spines would work in between the oxen's hoofs.

"One day Sam came riding back as fast as he could ride and told us to corral the oxen for a big band of buffalo were on the way and would pass near us. Whenever oxen smell fresh buffalo they go crazy. They want to join the buffalo. We got the wagons in a circle and

got the oxen inside. The buffalo charged by, not far off. The Greenwood boys killed a two-year-old and a heifer calf. We had to camp there for a few hours, for our guides told us that if our oxen crossed the trail of the buffalo they would become unmanageable. It is an odd thing that when oxen smell the fresh trail of the buffalo they stop and paw and bellow as if they smelled fresh blood. If you have ever tried to stop a runaway ox team you know what hard work it is. I remember seeing on the plains a stampede of oxen which were hitched to the wagons. They tried to stop them but they had to let them run till they were tired out. Two of the oxen were killed by being dragged by the others. The men cut the throats of the two oxen, bled them and we ate them, though the meat was tough and stringy.

"While we were crossing the sage brush desert, one of the men in our party named Jim Kinney, who hailed from Texas, came upon an Indian. Kinney had a big wagon and four yoke of oxen for his provisions and bedding. He also had a spring hack pulled by a span of fine mules. His wife drove the mules while Kinney himself always rode a mule. He had a man to drive his wagon with the four yoke of Oxen. Kinney was a typical southerner. He had long black hair, long black mustache, heavy black eyebrows, and was tall and heavy, weighing about 225 pounds. He had a violent temper and was a good deal of a desperado.

"When he saw this Indian in the sage brush he called to his driver to stop. Kinney's wagon was in the lead, so the whole train was stopped. Going to the wagon he got a pair of handcuffs and started back to where the Indian was. The Indian had no idea Kinney meant any harm to him. My father said, 'Kinney, what are you going to do with that Indian?' Kinney said, 'Where I came from we have slaves. I am going to capture that Indian and take him with me as a slave.' My father said to him, 'The first thing you know, that Indian will

escape and tell the other Indians and they will kill all of us.' Kinney said, 'I generally have my way. Any man that crosses me, regrets it. I have had to kill two or three men already because they interfered with me. If you want any trouble you know how to get it.' Kinney was an individualist. He would not obey the train rules but he was such a powerful man and apparently held life so lightly that no one wanted to cross him.

"Kinney went to where the Indian was, jumped off his mule, and struck the Indian over the head. The Indian tried to escape. He put up a fight but was no match for Kinney. In a moment or two Kinney had knocked him down and gotten his hand cuffs on him and dragged him to the hack, fastened a rope around his neck, and fastened him to the hack. Kinney told his wife to hand him his black-snake whip, which she did, as she was as much afraid of him as the men were. Then he told his wife to drive on. He slashed the Indian across the naked shoulders with the black-snake whip as a hint not to pull back. The Indian threw himself on the ground and was pulled along by his neck. Kinney kept slashing him to make him get up, till finally the Indian got up and trotted along behind the hack.

"For several days Kinney rode back of the Indian, slashing him across the back with the black-snake to do what he called 'break his spirit.' After a week or ten days Kinney untied the Indian and turned him over to his ox driver, telling him to break the Indian in to drive the ox team.

"Kinney had a hound dog that was wonderfully smart. He had used him in Texas to trail runaway slaves. After two or three weeks Kinney did not tie the Indian any more at night, as he said if the Indian ran away the dog would pick up his trail and he could follow him and kill him to show the other Indians the superiority of the white man. He said he had killed plenty of negroes and an Indian was no better than a negro.

"After the Indian had been with Kinney for over three weeks, one dark windy night he disappeared. Kinney called the Indian his man Friday. In the morning when Kinney got up he found the Indian had taken a blanket as well as Kinney's favorite Kentucky rifle—a gun he had paid $100 for. He had also taken his powder horn, some lead, and three hams. Kinney was furious. I never saw a man in such a temper in all my life. Every one in the train rejoiced that the Indian had escaped but they all appeared to sympathize with Kinney for they were afraid of being killed if they showed any signs of satisfaction. Kinney saddled his mule, took his dog along, and started out to track the Indian. The wind had blown sand in ridges and hummocks, covering the Indian's trail. So after hunting for half a day in all directions and being unable to track him, Kinney returned to the wagon train and we started on.

"In our party were four or five young men who used to ride ahead with the Greenwood boys, sometimes in front and sometimes by the side of the wagons as a body guard. One day when John Greenwood was acting as pilot, an Indian suddenly raised from the sage brush, frightening John's horse. John had a fine riding horse, one of the best I have ever seen. As his horse reared he jerked it savagely. It nearly unseated him. Several of the young men laughed. This made John Greenwood furious. He declared he would kill the Indian for scaring his horse. John took his gun from in front of his saddle and pointed it at the Indian. The Indian threw up his hands. The young men with John remonstrated with him and told him that the Indian meant no harm and not to shoot. One of the young men called to the Indian to run. The Indian obeyed and started to run away at full speed. This was too much for John, who drew a quick bead and fired, shooting him through the back. The Indian fell forward face downward in the sand.

"The men on horseback waited there till the others rode up, but John rode on as fast as he could go. My uncle, Truman Bonney, who was a doctor, examined the Indian, who was gasping for breath, and said he had been shot through the lungs and that it was a fatal wound.

"My mother took a quilt from our wagon and laid the dying Indian on it; she also brought him a drink of water but he shook his head and refused to drink. We drove on a mile or so and just about dusk, Caleb Greenwood and his son Sam, who were escorting some other emigrants, rode into our camp. They had come across the Indian, who was still living. Caleb Greenwood told his son Sam to shoot the Indian through the head to put him out of his misery, which he did, and they dug a hole in the sand and buried him. When Caleb Greenwood came into our camp he said, 'The man who killed that Indian must die.' He thought Kinney had killed him. My father said, 'Your son John shot him.' Greenwood told the men of the party to meet and state the full facts. When he found that his son John had not shot in self defense but had shot the Indian wantonly, he said: 'I will act as judge of this trial. I order that the murderer of the Indian be killed.' He told the men of the party that whoever saw John to shoot him on sight as they would a wild animal.

"John, who was mounted on a fine horse, rode on as fast as he could and fell in with a Mexican and in a quarrel with this Mexican over a game of cards, was stabbed and killed, so our party did not have an opportunity to carry out the orders of execution.

"At the foot of the Sierra Nevada mountains we were met by ten Mexicans with a pack train consisting of flour, potatoes, dried beef and other provisions.

"We camped at the foot of the mountains for several days, waiting for other emigrants, who had turned off at Fort Hall, to join us. After a day's traveling we came to a rim rock ledge where there was no chance to drive

up, so the wagons were taken to pieces and hoisted to the top of the rim rock with ropes. The wagons were put together again, reloaded, and the oxen which had been led through a narrow crevice in the rim rock, were hitched up and we went on. Once again in the Sierras we came to a rim rock that could not be mounted, and repeated the process of hoisting the wagons up. It took us four days to reach the summit of the mountains. In going down the side of the mountains in the Sacramento valley the mountains were so steep in places that we had to cut pine trees and hitch them to the ends of the wagons to keep them from running forward on the legs of the oxen.

"At the foot of the Sierras we camped by a beautiful, ice-cold, crystal-clear mountain stream. We camped there for three days to rest the teams and let the women wash the clothing and get things fixed up.

"My sister Harriett was 14, and with my cousin, Lydia Bonney, daughter of my father's brother, Truman Bonney, myself and other boys of the party, we put in three delightful days wading in the stream. It was October and the water was low. In many places there were sand and gravel bars.

"On one of these gravel bars I saw what I thought was wheat, but when I picked them up I found they were heavy and the color of dull yellow wheat. I took one of the pieces about the size of a small pea into camp with me. Dr. R. Gildea asked me for it. That evening he came to my father and, showing him the dull yellow metal I had given him, said: 'What your boy found today is pure gold. Keep the matter to yourself; we will come back here next spring and get rich.' My father thought Dr. Gildea was a visionary and did not pay much attention to him.

"Dr. Gildea asked me to pick up all the nuggets I could find. He gave me an ounce bottle and asked me to fill it for him. The next day we hunted along the

edge of the rocks and crevices and soon filled his ounce bottle with little nuggets ranging in size from a grain of wheat to the size of a pea.

"When we arrived at the fort, Captain Sutter made us heartily welcome. He told my father the fort would accommodate twelve families and the first twelve families joining his colony would be furnished quarters there. He furnished us quarters in the fort and also gave us plenty of fresh beef, potatoes, onions, coffee and sugar. The families who joined the colony received the regular rations in accordance with the number of children in the family. He gave work to all the men who cared to work. Some of the men helped break the wild Spanish cattle to plow.

"The native method of farming was by means of crude plows drawn by two yoke of oxen. Instead of yokes, the cattle had poles lashed to their horns. They used rawhides for chains and their method of plowing was to have one man lead the oxen and one man on each side with a long sharp stick to goad the oxen. Captain Sutter engaged my father to make ox yokes to replace the native rigging. Our men had a busy and strenuous job, breaking the native cattle to plow. They would put one of our well-broken teams in front, then put a yoke of wild steers in the middle and a well-broken American yoke of oxen in the rear. In this way our men broke twenty yoke of oxen during the winter.

"There was a large cookhouse at the fort, where we children liked to watch them doing the cooking. They cooked here for a large number of Indian laborers. In addition to the Indian workers, there were a lot of Indian boys who were being trained to work. Sutter had to keep getting new workers, as many of the Indians would die each winter of mountain fever.

"These Indian boys were fed in a peculiar way. They ground barley for them, made it into a gruel, and emptied it into a long trough. When the big dinner bell rang the

Indian boys would go to the trough and with their fingers would scrape up the porridge and eat it.

"In the middle of the fort was a big oven where the bread was baked. Near by was a well from which we all drank water. At the east end of the fort there was a pile of oak lumber. Here the Indians and other servants were punished for any infraction of the rules. The man or boy to be punished would be strapped face downward to one of the oak logs and would then be flogged on the back with a five-tailed raw-hide. Out near the gate a large bell was hung. One of the servants rang this every hour so people would know what time it was.

"So many emigrants were crowded into the fort that winter that as a result there was a good deal of sickness. In those days it was called mountain fever; now it is called typhoid fever. A large number of the natives died of this, as well as some of the emigrants, mainly children. Among those who died was Dr. Gildea. He was the one who was going back the next spring with my father to get rich picking up the gold nuggets at our old camping place. He died January 22, 1846, and as you know, two years later gold was discovered in the mill race at Sutter's Fort. My uncle, Truman Bonney, who had gone north to Oregon, remembered where we children had found the gold, so he and some others returned to our old camping place to stake out claims, but it had already been staked out, and proved to be very rich ground.

"The fall we arrived at Sutter's Fort there was a good deal of trouble about the coming of Americans to California. A Mexican officer named Castro brought up the question of the legality of foreigners coming to California without passports. The authorities at Mexican City had issued instructions that the Americans from the Sandwich Islands could come to California even though their passports were not regular, but that the emigrants who came from Missouri or who came south

from Oregon must have proper passports. The order, which was published in California on September 12, 1845, said that the coming of American families from Missouri into California was apt to cause subversion of order and complicate foreign relations with California as well as create much embarrassment, and as a consequence positive orders were issued that no more families should be permitted to come into California unless they became naturalized. Castro and Castillero came north to ask the American emigrants as to their intentions in settling in California. Castro explained to them that friendly relations had been broken off between the republic of the United States and the republic of Mexico. The emigrants promised that if they were allowed to remain till spring they would go away peacefully. Vallejo was put in charge of the Americans to see that they kept good order. Vallejo was very good to the American settlers, supplied them with provisions, and did not require them to give bonds to keep the peace.

"Sutter, himself, was more than kind to the emigrants. He was anxious to build up an American colony there and he did everything possible for the Americans.

"In the spring of 1846 a Mexican general with thirty soldiers came to the fort and said all Americans who did not care to become Spanish subjects must leave California. Late in April a meeting of the emigrants was called and the question was discussed. Most of the emigrants decided that they preferred going to Oregon rather than losing their American citizenship. Captain Sutter urged my father to stay, and told him he would give him six sections of land, but he refused. Captain Sutter gave him horses and wagons in exchange for his oxen.

"Captain Sutter wanted to have as many Americans settle there as he could get, and planned to furnish them land so they would raise wheat. He wanted to buy all the wheat from them, as he planned to sell it to the Russian government at Sitka, Fort Wrangell, and other

points in Alaska. He was a man of vision. The Russian government had given up their settlements in California; the Hudson's Bay Company were retiring from Oregon to British Columbia, and he believed he could exchange wheat for furs with the Russians in Alaska and make a fortune. He probably would have done so if gold had not been discovered in California.

"Those Americans who were unwilling to renounce their native country were required to move in the spring. We had always traveled by wagons and it was a problem how to move our families and our possessions on horseback. In the party to Oregon there were fifteen small children. Father and mother were unusually anxious to go to Oregon because my oldest brother and my sister Ann had died and were buried at Sutter's Fort. So they regarded California as unhealthy. Among the Americans were some single men who were unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to Mexico and wanted to stay in California, so they took to the hills and decided to stay anyway.

"Among the young children to be taken to Oregon was my sister, Ellen Francisco, who had been born at Sutter's Fort and who was only a few months old. There were no roads to Oregon, so the children had to go on horseback. An old Scotchman solved the problem by making pack saddles with arms fifteen inches high. He wove raw-hide strands around this framework, making a regular basket. Two children could be placed in each one of these pack saddles without any danger of their falling out. I will never forget the exciting forenoon we spent when we started from the fort. Many of the horses were not saddle broken and when the children were put in these high pack saddles the horses would run and buck. At first many of the children set up a terrible clamor, but when they found they were not spilled out, they greatly enjoyed the excitement. Their mothers were frantic. After running for miles the horses were

rounded up by the Mexicans who were to accompany us part of the way northward.

"Captain Sutter furnished each family with a fat beef animal and he also sent ten Mexicans with us to drive our loose stock and to teach our men to pack. The Mexicans were supposed to go with us about 250 miles to where Col. Freemont was camped. When we reached the camp we found Col. Freemont had gone to Southern California to join the American forces there. We camped at Freemont's camp while the Mexicans killed our beeves and dried the meat for us. They told us we could follow the old Hudson's Bay trappers' trail northward to Oregon.

After traveling a few days northward from Freemont's camp we came to a beautiful lake beside which was a clover meadow. We camped there for the night. The young man who took the horses out to pasture found near the lake an Indian girl about eight years old. The little girl was perfectly nude, her long black hair was matted and she was covered with sores from head to feet. She could only make a pitiful moaning noise. Dr. Truman Bonney, my uncle, examined her and said she was suffering from hunger and that the flies had almost eaten her up. Near by we could see where two tribes of Indians had fought. She had apparently crept to one side out of danger and had been left. She had been living on clover roots and grass. A council among the men was held to see what should be done with her. My father wanted to take her along; others wanted to kill her and put her out of her misery. Father said that would be wilful murder. A vote was taken and it was decided to do nothing about it, but to leave her where we found her. My mother and my aunt were unwilling to leave the little girl. They stayed behind to do all they could for her. When they finally joined us their eyes were red and swollen from crying and their faces were wet with tears. Mother said she had knelt down by the little girl

and had asked God to take care of her. One of the young men in charge of the horses felt so badly about leaving her, he went back and put a bullet through her head and put her out of her misery.

"A few days later we came to an Indian camp. The Indians were subsisting on dried acorns and crickets. The crickets were very large. The way they prepared them was to catch the crickets, pull off their legs so they could not hop away, pile them in the sun and let them dry, then mix them with the acorns, put them all together in a stone mortar and make a sort of bread out of them. The Indians gave us some of this black bread which looked like fruit cake but had a different taste. Some of we children ate it, while others were rather squeamish about it and did not care for it.

"That evening an Indian came to camp bringing an Indian boy about twelve years old. Allan Sanders traded a Pinto pony for the boy. He cut the Indian boy's long hair, bought him clothing from one of the other members of the party, and named the boy Columbus. The first night Columbus was very unhappy, but after Sanders had given him a sound thrashing he seemed more contented. He reached Oregon safely but a few years later died from the measles.

"A few days' travel northward from where Sanders had bought Columbus, we were attacked by the Indians. When night had fallen our party moved back into the brush about 50 yards from where we had camped. The men put the packs in a circle to protect the women and children. The nine men who had guns crept out to the bank of the stream where they believed the Indians would cross. When everything was still the Indians started to cross the stream. Our men gave them a volley and the other men, who had cut clubs, with a loud yell splashed into the stream after the Indians, and the Indians disappeared. The next morning the men found plenty of

blood along the trail where they had gone but did not find any bodies of Indians.

"We reached Rogue River valley, in Southern Oregon, early in June. I never saw a more beautiful valley. The grass-covered hills were dotted with deer and elk. The streams were full of trout, and there was not only plenty of wood and water, but there were many little open spots and prairies. Several of our party decided to settle right there.

"Captain Levi Scott settled on the Umpqua and founded the town of Scottsburg. Eugene Skinner built a cabin at the foot of a butte now called Skinner's Butte, and by it the town of Eugene now stands. The rest of our party continued on down to the Willamette Valley and reached Oregon City on June 16, 1846. My father, who was a cooper and millwright, got a job coopering for Mr. Fellows, while my mother secured work from Governor Abernethy.

"The missionary association in the East had sent a large amount of clothing and other goods for the Indian students. The dresses were cut out but not made. The boys' clothing was also cut out but not sewed, the intention being to have the Indians in the manual training school do the work. The mission school, however, had been abandoned, so Governor Abernethy had the goods. He told my mother if she would finish knitting the stockings, make the dresses and finish the boys' clothing, she could have one-half of all she finished. Mother soon had all her children outfitted with new clothing and also made other dresses and suits, which she sold, Governor Abernethy of course selling his half.

"Dr. John McLoughlin of Vancouver employed my father to go to Champoeg to repair a grist mill there. He furnished father a bateau with eight Indian oarsmen to take his family to Champoeg. We landed near the old Indian landing near where the monument to the provisional government now stands. We stayed there that

winter while father worked on the mill. The winter of 1846 was one of the coldest that the oldest settlers of Oregon could remember. Hundreds of head of wild cattle and Indian horses died as they couldn't get at the dried grass beneath the snow.

"In the fall of 1847 we moved to our donation land claim two miles east of where the town of Hubbard now stands.

"Among my pleasant memories of our stay in Oregon City was playing with a playmate, a son of Col. W. G. T'Vault, the first editor of the *Oregon Spectator* at Oregon City, the first paper to be published west of the Rocky Mountains. One day young T'Vault and I were walking along the streets of Oregon City when we met Dr. McLoughlin and Mr. Barlow. Barlow had a plane bit in his hands. Dr. McLoughlin put his hand on my head and said: 'Don't you boys want to earn some candy? If you will go with Mr. Barlow and turn the grind stone while he sharpens that plane bit, I will give you each a handful of candy.' As soon as Mr. Barlow had pronounced the bit sharp enough we hurried back to Dr. McLoughlin and he gave us each a handful of plain candy hearts with mottoes on them. That was the first store candy we had ever eaten, or for that matter had ever had in our hands.

"Another recollection of Oregon City is going with my cousin, Wisewell Bonney, and young T'Vault to the building which was used as a mint. The men there would melt the gold dust on a blacksmith's forge, pour it into molds, roll it through a roller and keep rolling it till the bars were thin, when they would stamp $5 and $10 gold pieces out of the gold bars. They had a beaver on one side and were called Beaver money. They manufactured about $30,000 worth of $10 coins and $25,000 worth of $5 coins. By accident they made them too heavy, so they were worth more than five or ten dollars, so when the people got them they would melt them up or send

them to the mint. That is why they are so scarce now.

"My uncle, Truman Bonney, settled at Hubbard. He was what was known in those days as a calomel and quinine doctor, as that is what he prescribed for everything that ailed people.

"My father died in 1854. Shortly thereafter my mother married Orlando Bidwell. Our claim joined A. R. Dimmick's claim. John Dimmick, father of Grant Dimmick, and I went to school together. The first time I ever saw the inside of a school house was when I was 14 years old.

"In those days they used to have big times at the barn raisings. When Dimmick's barn was built it was christened the Queen of the French Prairie because it was the biggest barn on the prairie. Neighbors, with their ox teams, came for twenty miles around to help at the barn raising. One incident of that barn raising I remember very distinctly. There was a man there named Zack Fields who offered to bet a $5 Beaver coin that no one could raise his head from the ground by his ears. It looked as if it would be easy, but when a man put up a five-dollar gold piece Zack greased his ears so the man's fingers would slip off, and Zack won the bet.

"Father paid $12 each and sent five of us children to school there. The teachers didn't have to know much about books, but had to be able to whip the big boys. I saw a teacher tackle George Dimmick, who was 18 years old. It was a battle royal, for George put up a big scrap. The teacher wore out a six-foot hazel rod on him.

"I put in most of my time making cedar shingles. My father's donation land claim on the Pudding river bottom had forty acres of fine timber on it. We split our cedar timbers for both Ford's and Kiser's houses. We got $10 per thousand for the cedar shingles. People came from all over Mission Bottom and French Prairie to buy shingles of us.

"The first time I was married I was married to Cath-

erine M. Rhoades, who was fifteen years old. We were married on February 11, 1864, at Champoeg, by Rev. T. B. Litchenthaer of the United Brethren church. We had nine children, seven of whom are still living. You will know we shifted around a good bit when I tell you that these nine children were born in seven different houses.

"My second wife was Louise Coats. We were married at Tygh Valley in Eastern Oregon by Rev. Roland Brown. My third wife was a widow with five children. Her name was Mrs. Emma J. Lamb. We were married at Oregon City by County Judge Grant Dimmick, the son of my former schoolmate.

"When I was a young man I worked as a carpenter and bricklayer. Then I got into a sort of peculiar business. I would take up a squatter's right on a piece of land, build a good house on it, and sell it to someone who wanted to homestead on the land.

"In 1861 I went to the Orofino mines in Idaho and had fair success. Some little time after the Civil war I decided to be a preacher. For eleven years I preached on the circuit from Dufur in Eastern Oregon to Goldendale, Washington. Later I preached in British Columbia, and still later I had a circuit in the Puget Sound country.

"When I tell my grandchildren about the old days, about the plains being dark with vast herds of buffalo, about the Indians and the mining camps, they look at me as if they thought I could not be telling the truth. Those old days are gone forever and the present generation can never know the charm and romance of the old West."

FIRST NEWSPAPERS OF SOUTHERN OREGON AND THEIR EDITORS

By George H. Himes

The first paper in Oregon south of Salem was the Umpqua Weekly Gazette,* a five-column folio, the printed page being 11⅞ x 18 inches, issued at Scottsburg, Umpqua County, Oregon Territory, April 28, 1854—devoted to literature, agriculture, mining news, general intelligence, etc. The printing office was in Harris's new building, corner of Main and Yoncalla streets. Price, $5.00 a year; $3.00 for six months. Advertisements on reasonable terms; one square, 10 lines or less, first insertion, $2.00. Great reductions on yearly contracts. The first editor was Daniel Jackson Lyons; publisher, William J. Beggs. Politically the paper was Democratic. There was a sprinkling of Whigs in Umpqua County, but they were in a hopeless minority. The Republican party was just emerging from its shell in some of the states east of the Mississippi river, but as yet not a member of that party had strayed far enough away from home to get into Oregon Territory, so far as known. According to the custom of those days, job printing was solicited.

The body type in the printer's language of that day was bourgeois, or nine-point of the present day; and the smallest type—that used in advertising, poetry, extracts, etc.—was minion, or seven-point of the present time.

Mr. Lyons was born in Cork, Ireland, March 28, 1813, and came to the United States with his parents in 1826, who settled in Louisville, Kentucky. As a lad in

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* The *Gazette* was the seventh newspaper in Oregon Territory, those preceding it being in the following order: *Oregon Spectator*, Oregon City, February 5, 1846; *Oregon Free Press,* April, 1848, Oregon City; *The Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist,* at a farm house, near present-day Hillsboro, June 7, 1848; *The Western Star,* November 21, 1850, Milwaukie, changed to *Oregon Weekly Times* June 5, 1851, after removed to Portland; *Oregonian,* December 4, 1850, Portland; *The Oregon Statesman,* March 28, 1851. The *Spectator* was the first newspaper upon the Pacific Coast as well as the first in Oregon, as it antedates the first paper in California by six months and ten days.

Ireland he was being educated for the priesthood in the Roman Catholic church; but having one eye destroyed by a stone thrown by a playmate, his plans for life were changed and he learned the trade of brush and broom maker. He followed that pursuit for a number of years in Louisville and other cities, and at length made his home in Lexington, Ky. Possessing a studious disposition, he put in all his spare moments in reading and studying music. On June 20, 1849, he was married to Miss Virginia Fayette Putnam, a sister of Charles F. Putnam, a printer, who came to Oregon in 1846. Mr. Lyons crossed the plains to Oregon in 1853 and settled in the vicinity of what is now the town of Drain. In the spring of 1854 he went to Scottsburg. His eyesight having become seriously impaired, a change of occupation became necessary. Then he acquired an interest in a hotel owned by Captain Levi Scott, the founder of the town, and with the aid of his wife managed that business successfully.

About this time Captain Scott, being very anxious to exploit his embryo city, bought a second-hand newspaper plant in San Francisco which had been used about two years, and caused it to be shipped to Scottsburg, with William J. Beggs in charge as printer. Beggs brought a few exchanges with him from San Francisco and these were read to Lyons by his wife, and selections were thus made. Lyons dictated editorial notes and his wife wrote them out. On the first page, in the first column, was a poem entitled "Now-a-days," which I copy in full in order that those who hanker after the "good old times" to which our seniors are so fond of alluding, may see something of the changes which have taken place in the past sixty years:

"Alas, how everything has changed
Since I was sweet sixteen,
When all the girls wore homespun frocks
And aprons nice and clean;

With bonnets made of braided straw
That tied beneath the chin—
The shawls laid neatly on the neck,
And fastened with a pin.

"I recollect the time when I
Rode father's horse to mill
Across the meadow, rock and field,
And up and down the hill;
And when the folks were out at work,
As sure as I'm a sinner,
I jumped upon a bare-backed horse,
And carried them their dinner.

"Dear me, young ladies now-a-days
Would almost faint away
To think of riding all alone
In wagon, chaise or sleigh;
And as for giving 'Pa' his meals
Or helping 'Ma' to bake,
Oh, saints! 'twould spoil their lily hands,
Though sometimes they make cake.

"When winter came the maiden's heart
Began to beat and flutter;
Each beau would take his sweetheart out
Sleigh-riding in a cutter.
Or, if the storm was bleak and cold,
The girls and beaux together
Would meet, and have most glorious fun
Regardless of the weather.

"But now, indeed, it grieves me much,
The circumstance to mention.
However kind the young man's heart
And honest his intention,
He never asks the girls to ride,
But such a war is waged,
And if he sees her once a week—
Why, surely 'they are engaged.' "

Mrs. Lyons is supposed to have been the author of this poem.

The following was Mr. Lyons' first editorial:

"To our Subscribers and to the Men of Southern Oregon:

"In launching forth our little bark on the waves of public opinion, and unfurling our sheet to the breeze, we trust that one and all will come forward, and extend to us, not only kindness and lenity, but the necessary support requisite to keep our boat afloat and in proper trim. The prospectus of the Umpqua Weekly Gazette has already been extensively circulated, and all know the grounds we intend to occupy. Liberality and justice is our motto, and our columns shall remain free from the stain of political acrimony, or sectional abuse.

"We call particularly on the farmers to put their shoulders to the wheel, as the men who, in all civilized nations, make up the bone and sinew of society, and by their products furnish the nucleus, not only to the manufacturer, but to the commercial interests, of all lands.

"We will wind up this article, not with a promise of things we never intend to perform, but with the assurance to all of doing everything in our power to render our sheet both useful and agreeable."

A report of the Umpqua County Democratic Convention on April 22, 1854, is given, and in it is mentioned the nomination of S. F. Chadwick as county judge. This gentleman years later became very widely known in Masonic circles, and in 1870 was elected Secretary of State on the Democratic ticket, re-elected in 1874, and became the fifth Governor of the State of Oregon from February 1, 1877, to September 11, 1878, as a result of the election of Governor L. F. Grover to the United States Senate. He was also the first postmaster of Scottsburg.

In referring to exchanges, Mr. Lyons says:

"We must crave the indulgence of our readers for a few weeks until we get our exchange list properly established. Arrangements will be made, if possible, to get our exchanges by way of Port Orford, which will place us in possession of San Francisco dates some three or four dates in advance of any other paper in the Territory."

An interesting clipping from the New York *Herald* appears as follows:

"Our Relations with Japan.—What's to be Done Now? —According to the late news, the Emperor of Japan is dead, and it seems that the established law of respect to his memory requires that no official intercourse should be held with any foreign power for the space of two years; not even a foreign ambassador being allowed a reception until the expiration of that time.

"This places our relations with Japan in a very awkward position. On the 14th of July last, Commodore Perry had an interview with the nobles of Japan, at Gorehama, a town near Uragua, on which occasion he presented his credential in a great state, and a letter from President Fillmore to the Emperor in a gold box; and on the 17th of July (1853) Commodore Perry sailed, promising to call for the Emperor's answer in the spring.

"Now, what's to be done? The spring is at hand, and no foreign embassador can be received for two years to come. And are the great objects of Commodore Perry's mission thus to be staved off? The opening of a mighty trade with Japan, a commercial treaty, and the conversion of all those heathens—are these great objects to be postponed for two whole years, on account of the death of a half savage, gouty old Emperor? Is Commodore Perry to be kept beating about in Japanese waters for two years, waiting for an answer to the President's letter?

"Let President Pierce write a new letter, put it in a new gold box for the new Emperor, to be carried up to him, if necessary, at the point of the bayonet; and if the Emperor resists, let Commodore Perry be instructed to annex him and all his islands to the United States. Let the new Emperor understand, in three words, that he must trade or fight; and let Marcy prescribe his costume without delay."

Look upon that picture, and then consider the conditions of the present day, and the relations of Japan and the United States.

Parenthetically, perhaps, it may be of general interest to note that the English language was first introduced into Japan by a native son of Oregon, Ranald McDonald, who was born at Astoria in 1824. His father, Archibald McDonald, was a Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company,

and his mother was an Indian woman, the daughter of Chief Cob-a-way, of the Clatsop tribe. He received the rudiments of an education through John Ball, a graduate of Dartmouth College, who came to Oregon in 1832, and taught a school at Fort Vancouver beginning in November of that year. He received additional education in Manitoba, and soon after he was out of his teens went to New York, took passage on a whaling vessel named the Plymouth, Capt. L. B. Edwards.* In shipping with this officer he made it distinctly understood that when he arrived at a point in the ocean where he wished to leave the ship he was to have that privilege. The place selected was in the sea of Japan, a few miles from the shore. Captain Edwards allowed him to take his best boat and supplied him with food and instruments to navigate with. He drifted at length to the beach, was captured by the Japanese and imprisoned. He soon made friends, however, and taught them the English language. Pupils of McDonald were among the interpreters on behalf of Japan when Commodore Perry first reached that country in 1852.

In Mr. Lyons' opinion a wagon road from Scottsburg to Winchester was very important to the Umpqua Valley, as it not only would open a market to the farmer for his produce, but would enable the merchant to send out his goods at trifling expense, compared with the hitherto heavy rates of packing. At that time between seven and eight thousand dollars had been subscribed.

A note is made of the arrival of a grampus between 50 and 60 feet long in the mouth of the Umpqua river. From his haggard appearance it is supposed that he ran out of provisions in doubling Cape Horn. An attempt was made to catch the monster, but without success. It was reported by some travelers from Coos County that a large whale had been cast ashore a few miles below the mouth of the Umpqua. This enabled the Indians there

* *The Friend,* Honolulu, Hawaii, December, 1848.

to fare sumptuously, as they devour whale blubber with the gusto of ravenous wolves.

The advertisers in the first issue were as follows:

George Haynes & Co., general merchandise, 575 Main street; Isaac N. Hall, groceries, etc.; Merritt, Oppenheimer & Co., wholesale dealers in dry goods, groceries, provisions, hardware, boots and shoes, clothing, liquors, cigars, etc.; Scottsburg House was a hotel kept by Joseph Putnam, the father of Charles F. Putnam, who married Roselle, the oldest daughter of Jesse Applegate; Allan, Lowe & Co., commission merchants, San Francisco; Samuel S. Mann had a lot of groceries and kindred stuff which he assures the public is entirely new and was purchased on terms so favorable that he "cannot fail to suit purchasers."

"Crosby's Hotel" was personally superintended by the proprietor, F. S. Crosby, who declared that the table was always to be supplied with the best that the market affords, and that "choice liquors and cigars were always available at the bar." In 1865 Mr. Crosby became an ardent temperance worker. His daughter was married to Rev. Myron Eells, a Congregational minister, at Boise City, Idaho, January 18, 1875. She is a widow now and lives at Union City, Mason County, Washington. Her oldest son is a graduate of Whitman College, and for a number of years has been the superintendent of the fine dairy farm of the late General Hazard Stevens, the son of General Isaac I. Stevens, who was the first governor of Washington Territory. This farm is located between Olympia and Tumwater, and no dairy farm in Oregon or Washington is more up-to-date in all respects.

Hinsdale & Co., wholesale dealers in general merchandise, corner Main and Nelson streets, Scottsburg.

The fast sailing schooner *Frances Helen*, Joseph B. Leeds, master, is announced to sail the first of May. The sloop *Muckshaw*, Capt. John Walker, will sail for the Coquille May 15th.

Allan, McKinlay & Co. announce that the steamer *Washington* will make tri-weekly trips between Lower Scottsburg and the mouth of the Umpqua river. A good scow always in readiness for the transportation of cattle. This was a branch house of the firm of that name at Oregon City, which succeeded the Hudson's Bay Company at that place, established about 1836.

William E. Lewis, boat builder and spar maker, on Mill Creek, Umpqua River.

W. N. Wells, house carpenter and ship joiner, Main street.

B. F. Johnson, blacksmith and gunsmith; also horseshoeing.

Local news very scanty. Paper, however, was well filled with a variety of miscellaneous items of interest.

From the column headed "All Sorts of Paragraphs" the following items are selected:

Cost of census of United States for 1790, $44,377; for 1850, $1,316,027.

The world was to have been destroyed on May 10, 1854, the date fixed by the Millerites, of Boston.

The mayor of a town in England sent a circular to all bakers in the corporation urging them, during the high cost of flour, to leave out the yeast, as he had reason to believe that it was the yeast which made the bread rise. That is not the cause now.

A Democratic paper in Ohio, after grave deliberation over the question of reducing the accidents in connection with railroad travel, concludes that the only way to do so is to abandon the use of steam and run the cars by oxen.

There are 13 individual banking houses on one street in San Francisco, all charging 3 per cent per month for money, and often more.

The American car is being admitted into England, it being regarded as superior to the English type.

In the second number of the *Gazette* the advertisement of Addison C. Gibbs, attorney at law, appears. He was elected governor of Oregon in June, 1862.

In No. 3 the names of those to whom contracts were given by the county commissioners for building the bridges on the Scottsburg-Winchester road appear as follows:

Elk Creek, Mr. Winchester, $1,500; Anyheim's, Capt. Hathaway, $150.00; foot of the Big Hill, John Frere, $75.00; No. 2, Sawyer's, and No. 2, Chadwick's, Casey & Frere, $150.00 each; Hudson's, Clark Hudson, $150.00; Burgess', Burgess, $150.00; Golding's, Golding, $150.00.

In No. 4, the question of whether the Territory should become a state was being discussed.

A large number of Indians were congregating on the Coquille. It was feared that this boded evil for the whites.

Gold claims on the beach were reported as paying well, $12.00 to $40.00 per day being frequently made.

Market prices: Flour, Chili, per pound 7 cents; bacon, 22c; butter, 37½c; sugar, China, 12½c; crushed, 17c; coffee, 17-20c; tea, 60-65c; dried apples, 15c; brown soap, 14c; soda, 50c; saleratus, 15c; raisins, per box, $5.50-$6.00.

In No. 5 the marriage notice of Legrand H. Hill to Miss Bethenia Owens, May 4, 1854, appears. This lady, now known as Dr. Owens-Adair, living near Astoria, was present at the fiftieth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association on June 15, 1922.

At the end of the first volume Mr. Lyons' connection with the *Gazette* ceased. Notwithstanding his almost total loss of sight, he continued in his hotel and brush-making business, assisted by his wife, until 1880, when he became totally blind. Then he turned his musical education to account, and in order to aid in making a living, frequently gave "walking concerts" on the pack trail between Scottsburg and the point now known as Drain, and also to Empire, being led along the way by a boy he had taken from an almshouse to raise. It must be remembered that hundreds of pack animals passed

along these trails in early days; sometimes as many as 300 left Scottsburg for the interior in a single day.

Mr. Lyons died in Marshfield, August 12, 1895, at the age of 69. His wife was a most efficient helpmeet in many ways. In addition to household duties and teaching her own seven children, she taught school for others from time to time, being among the earliest teachers in Coos County. She died on May 10, 1907, aged 78.

The second editor of the *Gazette* was G. D. R. Boyd, Mr. Beggs continuing as publisher and printer. The new arrangement did not continue long, it being evident that the newspaper business under the conditions existing in what was then Umpqua County, now included in Douglas County, was not profitable, and therefore the paper was suspended in September, 1855. A few weeks later the plant was bought by Col. William G. T'Vault, in company with two men named Taylor and Blakely. Then it was shipped to Crescent City and packed to Jacksonville, where the *Table Rock Sentinel*, with T'Vault as editor, was issued on November 24, 1855.

Soon after the paper was started Editor T'Vault was charged with being "tainted with abolitionism." This was too much for the stout-hearted old Democrat —a native of Tennessee, too. Hence he wrote a personal article over his own signature and printed it on the editorial page, denying the allegation in the most positive manner, and challenged his accusers to meet him "on the field of honor," so common in the southland from whence he came. Being known as a good shot, his challenge was declined. Among other things he said: "If I thought there was one drop of abolition blood in my veins I would cut it out." That declaration was wholly satisfactory, and thereafter until the end of his life there was never any question regarding his political faith. His connection with this paper ceased in 1859, after the name was changed to *The Oregon Sentinel.* His next editorial experience was in 1863 with a paper called

the *Intelligencer,* in Jacksonville, on a plant in that place first used by parties who started a paper called *The Civilian,* which died after a brief and fitful career—in fact, was a campaign sheet, as far as can be learned, issued in the interest of the National Democratic party in 1859, in opposition to the regular Democratic party. This enterprise failed in a few months, and was his last effort in connection with journalism.

Colonel T'Vault was a notable character in Southern Oregon for many years, beginning in 1852, and had a varied experience as editor, lawyer, Indian fighter, explorer and miner. Moreover, before leaving Tennessee for Oregon he had some newspaper experience, and soon after his arrival at Oregon City in the fall of 1845, he was employed as the editor of the *Oregon Spectator,* the first issue of which was on February 5, 1846, at a salary of $300.00 a year. He only held the job, however, two months, as it was the policy of the Printing Association which owned the plant to eschew politics, and the uncompromising democracy of T'Vault made that very difficult. He was also postmaster general of the provisional government of Oregon with a salary of $50.00 a year. The rate at that time between any Oregon postoffice and Weston, Mo., was 50 cents for a single sheet. At the end of nine months he resigned, saying that the receipts for that time had not been enough to pay the expense of transportation for one quarter.

William Green T'Vault was of Scotch, Irish and French ancestry, and was born on March 23, 1806. He was married to Miss Rhoda Boone Burns, a native of Kentucky and a grand-daughter of Daniel Boone, the famous Kentucky pioneer, in 1832. He and his wife and one daughter crossed the plains in 1845, and arrived at Fort Vancouver November 20th of that year. This family, as well as a numberof other families, when in camp on the Malheur river where Vale now stands, were made to believe by Stephen H. Meek that a shorter route to

the Columbia river at The Dalles ought to be taken than the one usually followed. In this these immigrants were misled and suffered a great deal in consequence. The route then followed has since then been called "Meek's Cut-off." Col. T'Vault died at Jacksonville, Oregon, February 4, 1869, as the result of an attack of smallpox.

DOCUMENTARY

DIARY OF REV. GEORGE GARY

Introductory Note

Rev. George Gary, who was sent by the Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Oregon with broad powers, left New York November 30, 1843, accompanied by Mrs. Gary, on board the *Lawrence*. After an uneventful voyage they arrived at Honolulu, April 24, 1844, and sailed thence by the bark *Brothers of Guernsey*, Captain Flere, for the Columbia River. Although the vessel entered the river May 23, it was not until the last day of that month that Vancouver was reached. Mr. Gary proceeded to the Willamette Valley, and as his diary shows, acted with promptness and vigor in curtailing the activities and disposing of the properties of the Mission. His reasons are clearly stated, and the diary gives his side of the long debated controversy as to whether his acts were justified by the circumstances.

Mr. Gary's diary is in the possession of his descendants and has never been printed. Until the present time none of its important contents has been accessible to students of the period, although some of his letters relating to Oregon have been available and have been published. The diary is voluminous and covers much besides the portion of his life that was spent in Oregon, from 1844 to 1847. This portion, however, is important to Oregon history, and arrangements have been made to publish so much of it in the *Quarterly*, where it will appear in several successive numbers.

George Gary was a native of Middlefield, New York, having been born there December 8, 1793. He was therefore fifty years of age when he went to Oregon in 1843.

He was licensed to preach by the Annual Conference

of New England in 1809, at the age of fifteen and one-half years, and is said to have been the youngest candidate for traveling preacher ever received into the Methodist Episcopal Church. He spent the greater part of his life in the State of New York and became one of the most prominent preachers of his time in that region. An account of his life is to be found in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit.* His death occurred in Vernon, New York, March 25, 1855.

The excerpts from the diary, which are here published, begin with the arrival at Honolulu.

CHARLES HENRY CAREY

Thurs. April 25, 1844. After having spent twenty-one weeks on the ever moving sea, we go on shore and the ground holds still for us to walk upon it. We are conducted by Mr Hall[1] to his dwelling and are made welcome to the hospitalities of his house. We spend a week in this place, entertained and accommodated by this kind family. We visited quite a number of families in this place. All treated us with attention and respect as far as I am able to see and judge, from this short period, our Presbyterian brethren are doing a good and great work here, certainly we are under many obligations for the cordial and Christian manner in which they received and treated us while we remained at Honolulu. The natural scenery here was new to us. Every hill in view reminded us, from its appearance, of lava, which had been

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[1] Probably Edwin Oscar Hall, who had gone to the Islands with the reinforcement of the mission there, leaving Boston in 1834. He was a printer and visited the Whitman and Spalding missions in the Oregon country with his wife, 1839-40, where he assisted in printing with the use of the Nez Perces alphabet. He returned thence to Honolulu, May 19, 1840. (*History of the Oregon Mission Press,* by Howard Malcolm Ballou, *Or. Hist. Quar.,* Vol. XXIII, p. 39.)

poured forth from some heated and active volcano, whose fires had gone out from time immemorial. The soil if soil it may be called, is unproductive. Almost every article of vegetation has to be frequently watered, especially in the dry season. Labor from the natives can be readily and cheaply obtained. Almost every tree, shrub and plant was new to us. We saw the fig tree, cocoanut tree, bananna tree and many others. The valleys a little back from the village where there are frequent rains, are somewhat productive. From these valleys natives daily appear in the streets and certain other places called markets, with potatoes, melons, cucumbers, bananas &c.

The manner of building houses was also new. They are built of adobe, a kind of brick made of mud and grass dried in the sun. The door yards and gardens are fenced with the same material. When whitewashed these houses and gardens fences appear very nice. Such is the warmth of the climate that foreigners, especially Americans and Englishmen, are very much prostrated and have but very little vigor. Our cold winters of the north, I think, contribute very much to make a healthy and vigorous people.

After spending one week very pleasantly and sharing abundantly in the hospitalities of the people, which often most seasonably appears in choice and well prepared vegetables, we left Honolulu in the morning, Tuesday, May 2nd, 1844, and went on board the barque *Brothers of Guernsey,* now taking freight to Fort Vancouver for Hudson Bay Company. In this vessel we take passage for Columbia River. At our dinner table, in our new and floating home, brandy and wine plenty. Nothing else very nice. But here we are and must go forward trusting the event with him whose ways are equal. About one o'clock P. M. anchor hoisted and the pilot conducts the Brothers out to sea.

Three P. M. a good drink crowns the parting scene with our pilot and he leaves us in great cheer amidst

hurrahs. When will the cause of temperance triumph so as to banish alcohol from the business walks of life? Let the friends of temperance work on. They have done much already and yet much remains to be done, but there is something so benevolent and good in the cause of temperance it must succeed. It has so many redeeming traits and carries with it such distinguished and great blessings to all classes and has enlisted such strength and talent in its favor and has already achieved so much for man in different parts of the civilized world. I ask is it visionary to congratulate ourselves it can and will and must succeed. We now find ourselves in a new circle, not one amongst us an American. There are two passengers besides us. Mr Roberts[2] and lady, Mr R. has been for many years in the service of the Hudson Bay Company in Oregon. He went to England more than a year ago a single man, is now returning with a wife. She is much out of health, yet we feel well pleased we have a female fellow passenger with us and from present appearances, flatter ourselves we shall enjoy much pleasure in their society in our voyage and get some information concerning affairs in Oregon. We have to go west bearing north in order to pass through the trade winds to the least disadvantage and make all the northing we can, which is but little at present. To our amazement [although] we have been but one week on the land the motion of the vessel reminds us there is such a thing, if thing it may be called, as seasickness. Mrs Gary is so affected as to vomit occasionally. Our berth is the most quiet place.

[1844] Sun. May 5. Sea very rough. No meeting today, but everything about the vessel as quiet as can be expected.

Wed. 8. Our wind continues very strong in the north-

[2] G. B. Roberts. His autobiography is set out in part in Bancroft, Vol. I, Oregon, p. 38, note. His wife, formerly Miss Martha Cable, of Aldborough, was his first cousin, and married him on his recent visit to England.

east, so we cannot make any easting at all and here we are more than thirty-five degrees west of the Columbia River.

Fri. 10. We are crowded west by the trade wind altogether beyond our expectations. We are nearly 162° West Longitude. We are more and more confirmed in the opinion there is nothing scarcely provided on board this vessel for the comfort and decent support of passengers. Everything indicates penuriousness except wine and brandy, as though these constitute the sum total of a respectable entertainment for passengers on board an English merchantman. Our vessel does not belong to the Hudson Bay Company, but is only chartered to take a cargo to Fort VanCouver in the Columbia River for said Company. Our Captain drinks hard and there is no telling how unpleasant, yea, painful it is to be at sea under the management and control of a man who is often disguised by alcohol.

Sun. 12. We have meeting today in the cabin. We have prayers every evening.

Mon. 13. Wind more favorable. Lon. 156.33, Lat 45.

Mon. 20. We have done very well for a few days as far as progressing on our route, or course is concerned. Lon. 134.14 Lat 43.36 We find very agreeable persons in our fellow passengers, Mr and Mrs Roberts. They appear as very moral persons, respecting religion and sacred things, as though well educated and religiously disposed. We all groan under the poverty of our fare. Our unanimous opinion is our Captain is too niggardly close to be considered a possible captain for a vessel in ordinary business of commerce, especially one that has accommodations for passengers. Last, but not least, of our evils, our Captain disguised every day by strong drink so as to be foolish in his conversation, and the tongue, generally so active in a sea captain, appears in conversation thick and clumsy. We cannot avoid some anxiety as we approach the river under the command of

such a man, seeing the entrance is very difficult and somewhat dangerous, but we remember in whose hands we are and this gives not only hope but a tolerable degree of quietude of spirit.

Wed. 22. We are progressing finely. We hope to see land tomorrow, we have cool weather, small and frequent showers of rain. Ther 53, Lat 45.25, Lon 127.14.

Thurs. 23. Our wind through the night was light after a little while, appearances of land, at 10 A. M. land abundantly in sight. There has been some error in our calculations. We find we are one day nearer land than we had expected. Providence was kind and tender toward us in our moderate wind last night, otherwise we might have unexpectedly run upon land to our injury and peril. There are breakers near the entrance into the river. About 4: P. M. just within the breakers, we struck, but the wind was light and the waves very quiet. We cast anchor and sent out a boat to sound out our route, fired our cannon perhaps eight or ten times in hope of being heard at Fort George (formerly Astoria), and that Mr Birnie,[3] who has the charge at that place would hear and come to our aid, though the fort is perhaps ten miles off. After we had made the best examination we could by our boat in various soundings and knowing our situation to pass the night would be perilous, especially if the wind should increase, we hoisted anchor and spread our sail with trembling solicitude and our barque moved most favorably, and before seven o'clock P. M. we cast anchor in Baker's Bay, at the mouth of the Columbia River, Oregon Territory. In a little while we saw an Indian canoe approaching us. They soon came up with some geese and a few other things which were purchased by our captain. Mr Roberts took the dispatches for Fort VanCouver and got into the canoe with the Indians and left us, his sick wife remaining on board the vessel.

[3] James Birnie.

Fri. 24. This morning our Captain is making a stir to start up the river, but soon a canoe is seen coming toward us; he is persuaded to wait until its arrival. To our great joy it proves to be Mr Birnie. He informed our Captain of the unfavorable state of the tide and, consequently, we wait a while. As the land is near us, the Captain has some of his men take a boat and take himself and Mr Birnie, Mrs Gary and myself on shore. Here we spend an hour or two and here we are walking on land in Oregon. Vegetation is in a very flourishing state, everything indicates a very strong soil. We return to our vessel and in a favorable state of the tide make an effort to go up the river. Fort Vancouver is about one hundred miles up the river. For vessels to pass up the river it is necessary to move in low tide, then if she strikes the bars, when the tide rises she will float. We spent the day in trying to get up the river and with all care and toil and until twilight. We passed perhaps eight miles. Being about two miles below Fort George, our Captain went home with Mr Birnie.

Sat. 25. Our mate and men, being desirous to show their competency easily hoisted anchor and before the arrival of the Captain and Mr Birnie, spread their sail and made an effort to go up the river; and very soon we are snugly on a sand bar. The Captain and Mr Birnie came and finding the vessel so fast on the bar, our cannon is again fired as a signal to a vessel at anchor at Fort George, for aid. Captain Scharborough[4] and five of his men come to our aid. About ten A. M. our vessel is afloat again. The Captain and his men remain with us all day and we ascend the river perhaps two miles, so we are near Fort George. Last night Mrs Roberts was very sick. She suffered very much during the night. We had some fear as to the results. She is some better today although the noise and tumult about our vessel is

[4] Capt. James Scarborough, of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessel, *Cadboro.*

very annoying to her, yet she bears it with as much patience and fortitude as could be expected. We are now sharing in the very seasonable hospitalities of Mr Birnie and his family. We have good board, bread and butter with eggs, salmon &c. We are feasting.

Sun. 26. Our seamen are so worn down by yesterday's toil, and we are much worn by our care and toil night and day for and with Mrs Roberts. We have no meeting today and lie still and quiet at anchor. A day of rest.

Mon. 27. This morning while waiting for wind, also tide, and Mrs Roberts being now comfortable, we go on shore and visit Mr Birnie and family, look at the surrounding scenery, no appearance of a fort, we see where the Indian dead have been deposited in their canoes, the bones of some are visible. We saw where the once great and famous Concomly[5] once lay quiet in death. We also visited the great tree which lies still and quiet on the ground, before the tooth of time had gnawed its surface, and also before the passing flames from time to time had singed it, it is very apparent that at a long distance from its roots it was forty or forty-five feet in circumference. The longest sapling by far we ever saw. After spending three or four hours on shore very pleasantly, aided and attended by Mr Birnie and family, we return to the boat. In the afternoon an effort is made to progress up the river. We are attended by Mr Birnie, Capt. Scharborough and an Indian pilot called George; though the river is wide, the channel is narrow. The Captains and Mr Birnie are so full of talk and also so full of drink, we touch and stick three times in going four miles, but the tide and wind are in our favor. Soon after we cast anchor for the night, a vessel coming down the river sends us a fat sheep. Mr Roberts, I suppose, has let some persons know what poor and miserable fare we have on board this vessel. Mr Birnie and Capt. Schar-

[5] Chief of the Clatsops.

borough return to the fort, so we are now left with our Indian pilot.

Tues. 28. Our men are out early, taking our pilot with them, sounding to find out the channel, leaving their buoys as guides in different place, after making a very careful examination, they return and wait some time for a favorable state of the tide, in this they are particular. Anchor is hoisted and we start, but within an hour we are on a sand bar, as the tide is still ebbing, we are under the necessity of waiting some time, our vessel has hit this bar sidewise, and as the tide continues to ebb, our vessel cants over sidewise very much. Some fears are entertained she may tip over. While in this condition Mr Roberts returns from Vancouver with a Mr Johnson[6] who has come to aid us up the river; this man is said to be the best in conducting a vessel up the river of any man in the region. As the tide turns and rises, our vessel is uprighted. In due time she floats. Mr Johnson takes the helm, and although it is near night, we pass on some miles most pleasantly and finally cast anchor for the night near Pillar Rock.

Wed. 29. Our wind up the river very light, the river is very high and at ebb tide the current down is very rapid and strong, our progress is very slow and after sailing ten or fifteen miles we cast anchor and remain at anchor the remainder of the day.

Thurs. 30. Six months today since we sailed from the Port of New York. In the night for a short period our wind was fair. Sails were spread and we passed up perhaps fifteen miles. Our wind is very light and progress slow. We are very dependent on this very variable and uncertain element. We have a very distant view of a volcano in action, throwing up clouds of smoke. For some days we have seen Mount Helen [St. Helens] which is covered perpetually with snow; this volcano as it ap-

[6] Probably William Johnson, naval veteran of the war of 1812, one of the participants in the organization of the Provisional Government, and one of the first settlers within the present limits of the city of Portland.

pears so far off seems to be near it, but I am not able to form an opinion whether this volcano is near enough to melt the perpetual snows or not. On further inquiry I have learned that this volcano is in Mount Helen itself, and that either the snow is diminishing or the soot settling upon the white covering of the mountain presents the appearance of wasting snow. It is so cold near these snowy mountains and the snow is so deep I believe there has been no very thorough examination of them, and this volcano is so high up the mountain as that the temperature at its base is but little, if any, affected by it. The falling ashes or soot have been seen and gathered from boards or anything of a smooth surface, say, fifty miles from the crater.

4: P. M. While we are coming up the river very pleasantly, a boat is seen coming down. We all gaze for a while, bye and bye Mr Roberts announces it is Mr Abernethy.[7] In a short time we meet and he comes on board and informs us he has heard we had entered the Columbia River and has come to meet us and take us to Williamette Falls, but as the day is far spent, we remain on board over night. By the papers overland through Mexico, by the way of Sandwich Islands the news of our appointment and of our sailing from New York had preceeded in advance of us. Both at the Islands and in Oregon more than a month. When we arrived at the Islands we learned that Messrs. Frost and D. Lee[8] sailed for the states in the year 1843, in the fall Rev. J. Lee had gone to the states by way of Mexico, Rev G. Hines and family had started from Oregon with J. Lee for the states, but after their arrival at Honolulu, finding no convenient opportunity to proceed, and hearing of an op-

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[7] George Abernethy, Steward of the mission, afterward Governor under the Provisional Government.

[8] Dr. Ira L. Babcock, Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost and their families went to the Islands by way of California on the bark *Diamond,* August 21, 1843. Babcock and family returned. Jason Lee and Gustavus Hines and family left Oregon by the English bark *Columbia,* February 3, 1844, but Hines and family returned.

portunity which failed, and learning of our appointment and of the time we sailed from New York, they returned to Oregon, leaving the Islands about a month before we arrived there.

Fri. 31. Our wind up the river very light, our progress consequently very slow. About 5: P. M. we leave the *Brothers,* the place of poor fare and of strong drink. In our voyage in the *Laurance* from New York to Oahu, of twenty-one weeks, I gained in weight ten pounds, in the *Brothers* of four weeks (and a few of the days since we came into the river very good fare, but little credit to Capt. Flere however) I have lost more than half I gained on the *Laurance.* Mrs Kary on board of this vessel would have suffered much more than I did, had it not been for some choice things provided for us by the outfit with which the Board furnished us before we left New York. These supplies were in season and we never shall forget the benefits they afforded us without emotions of inexpressible gratitude to the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church. And I trust the rememberance of these supplies will be attended with gratitude and praise to the Father of every good and perfect gift. * * * Adieu to the penurious Brothers. Adieu, I say, to the penurious Brothers. After leaving our vessel, we find ourselves in a small boat. Our crew consist of Mr Abernethy as master and helmsman, and an American by the name of Wood, and two Sandwich Islanders called Kanakas. With this crew we are rowed up the river until within about two miles of Fort Vancouver and about ten o'clock in the evening, we go ashore, strike a fire, eat our supper, crawl into a small tent and are soon in the arms of balmy and refreshing sleep on the northern bank of the Columbia River.

[1844] Sat. June 1. About three o'clock this morning, our feathered neighbors upon the surrounding branches commence their songs with apparent delight and melody. 4 A. M. We start for Vancouver and soon arrive there,

and are introduced to Mr Douglas,[9] one of the leading men in the Hudson Bay Company of this place. We are provided with a breakfast, i. e. Mr Abernethy, Mrs Gary and myself. The men and women in this place—I mean those belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, never eat together, and all visitors either are provided by themselves when they eat together, or are separated, the man being taken to the hall where the men eat, and the women eat with other women belonging to those who are in the employ of the Company. We made the necessary arrangements to have our freight stored and soon start for Williamette Falls. Are conducted to Mr Abernethy's. It is a time of quarterly meeting with them. Most of the members of the mission are here. We are introduced to them. They appear glad to see us and welcome us to this distant field of missionary labor. The most are expecting letters; we open our mail and distribute our letters and papers; what an eventful moment, with what intense interest these letters are opened and the contents hastily glanced at! After spending an hour or two in conversation and answering questions concerning persons and events in the states, and also after eating a good supper, we retire to rest, a little after midnight.

Sun. 2. Delightful love feast. No telling how good it is after spending so many months in a desert to find ourselves as in the Garden of the Lord. The language and spirit of this meeting make a favorable impression upon our minds.

Mon. 3. This day I have a council with the brethern present, clerical and laymen, composed of Dr. Leslie, G. Hines, A. F. Waller, L. M. Johnson, G. Abernethy, A. Beers and H. Campbell. After prayer and organizing the meeting, I stated to them the views of the Board of Managers at home, as far as I understood them, in which the following points were suggested. They have erred

[9] James Douglas (later Sir James). The American named Wood, in the preceding entry, was perhaps W. Wood mentioned by Robert Shortess in *Or. Pioneer Trans.* for 1896, p. 105.

in reference to the prospects of benefitting the Indians of this territory. They are not so numerous as was expected, and are more migratory than was expected. And these improper views have led the Board to too high hopes of their situation as a people.

Second, these mistaken views have led the Board into too heavy appropriations of missionaries and persons.

Thirdly, They seriously fear the missionary work here is more secular than it ought to be to benefit essentially the benighted and destitute of these ends of the earth.

Fourth: They have long been afflicted that they have so little information concerning this mission in detailed particulars, concerning its fiscal and spiritual condition and interests.

Fifthly: They, the Board, purpose in my visit to the mission to learn how the mission stands in reference to its pecuniary affairs, and especially its moral and religious character and spiritual influence upon community in general and upon the Indians in particular.

Sixthly. They are under the necessity of retrenchment. Their finances are low, have long been seriously embarassed with debts, and though they have made various efforts to cancel their debts, as yet the debts are lessened but little. One of two things must follow; a riper field for harvest in the moral vineyard must present itself to wake up the missionary zeal and action of the church at home, or the appropriations must be much lessened, they are driven by necessity to the latter.

Seventhly. We cannot draw for any more from their funds than they authorize; in so doing I am sure we should betray our trust and jeopardize our character.

We have been authorized to draw for five thousand dollars, but as a number have left our field, we must make a deduction in proportion. Further than this I cannot go. You know the income from the various resources in this country put this with the amount for

which we can draw and you have our means; and now we must cut our garment according to the cloth. After these remarks were made, I requested them to give me any information they thought proper. From their suggestions I gather the following particulars: 1st. Previous to the arrival of the emigrants over the mountains in the fall of 1843, the influence of the Mission was contributing; this probably arose from the numbers connected with the Mission and from the amount of business carried on by the Mission, and also from the dependent condition of many of the community on the Mission for employ and support. The emigrants of 1843 brought with them a strong prejudice against the Mission as a powerful monopoly, especially in view of the number and location of sections of land to which it had already laid claim. Also, they came with the purpose of riding over and breaking down the Mission. This jealousy and prejudice, on arriving here, was heightened by being cordially met, countenanced, and at last indirectly co-operated with on the part of leading and distinguished members of the Hudson Bay Company. 2nd. The Mission, or some of its prominent members, has had a controversy with Doct. McLaughlin [McLoughlin] in reference to a section of land at Williamette Falls. This controversy has arrayed community into parties, some for the Doct. and some for the Mission. In this state of affairs our claims in some places are being "jumped," as it is called. There can be but little doubt, if any, but that the public feeling will sustain the jumpers, and it is probable that to dispute the point with them will tend to the injury and disadvantage of the Mission. The most of this land thus claimed by the Mission is not occupied in any sense by the Mission.

This state of things has brought all, or nearly all connected with the Mission to the conclusion that there ought to be an essential change in our mode of operation in this Mission.

In the evening I had interview with the preachers, how the work shall be arranged or supplied this year were the leading questions. I stated to them that though we are missionaries and can remain many years at the same appointment, yet when the interests of religion do not stand in the way, we should hold ourselves subject to annual or frequent removal, as itinerancy is an established and prominent trait in Methodism, and we are parts and parcels of this itinerancy. The result of our interview as follows:

Williamette Settlement, David Leslie
Williamette Falls, Gustavus Hines
Dalls, A. F. Waller, H. K. W. Perkins
Clatsops, supplied for six months (J. L. Parrish.)

Tues. 4. Left for Williamette Settlement in company with D. Leslie, G. Hines and family, Doct. Babcock, L. H. Judson and A. Beers. We went up the river against a strong current about twenty-five miles, then took land conveyance and after traveling about three miles, put up for the night under a large and prickly shaded fir tree. Here we take a fine supper, attend to our devotions, wrap ourselves in our mantles, lie down on our bed, which is the ground; spread our umbrellas partly over our heads to keep the night air off. Am ready to exclaim, "Safe in Thine arms I lay me down, Thine everlasting arms of love." Here we spend the night pleasantly in sweet and refreshing sleep. This manner of journeying is new to Mrs Gary and myself. The ground answers the double purpose of table and bed, yes, and of chairs also, and when the traveler or travelers are careful to take a sufficient supply of provisions, it is difficult to tell with what independence he or they may pass through this land, and by the by, it is somewhat pleasant.

Wed. 5. We rise early and start for Doct. Babcock's. Take breakfast with his family, who live in a building erected for a hospital in the old settlement on the Williamette. Here is a fine farm belonging to the Mission,

managed by Mr Beers. He also carries on a blacksmithing business for the mission.

Thurs. 6. Today we go up the river about ten miles further, to the place where our Indian manual labor school is established. This is considered an important point in our Mission. We have in this immediate vicinity this Indian School, parsonage in which D. Leslie lives, and our milling establishment, both grist and saw mills, and claims to sixteen sections of land. Surely a place of high hopes and large investments and I suppose also a place of great expense annually. I am satisfied I have a burden to meet here which as yet I am unable to foresee how I shall dispose of. The saw and grist mills can be sold or disposed of in some way I presume, without essentially affecting the Mission, but this school has in the hopes of its immediate friends promised much for the benefit and salvation of the Indians of this land. I call a council of the Brethern present in reference to this school. We have in council D. Leslie, G. Hines, I. L. Babcock, A. Beers, J. L. Parish, H. Campbell and W. W. Raymond. In this interview it appears as the unanimous opinion of all present, that this school costs the Mission more than all the other operations of the Mission in this land.

Salary and traveling expenses of H. Campbell, Sup't of said school	$1000
Teacher and board of said teacher	590
Female teacher and Board	204
Support of James Bates, a kind of manager, salary and board	450
Clothing and boarding say thirty Indian Children	3432
Expense of transportation of supplies from the Falls	150
Medicine from the physicians	50
Clothing and boarding three young men, as help said to be indispensably necessary	468
	$6334

There is devoted to the use of the school perhaps five thousand dollars worth of stock and tools to carry it on, in its manual labor operations, but the income of this stock and the productions of the farm will not more than keep the stock and tools good, after all the wear, tear, break loss and stealing of these scholars and their associates are made good. The benefits of the school were also inquired for. The prevailing opinion was that all or nearly all the good that had resulted from it was that quite a number had experienced religion here and died when in school and hopefully gone to heaven. All agreed the Indian community had not been benefitted by any one who had left the school and returned to the various walks of life. If they have distinguished themselves in any way it is for their depravity. Four only have left the school regularly. Some of them have run away and many have died. The dead have been decently buried. Runaways have been punished as criminals. The most of them have taken their stolen budget and when found have been brought back, put in chains, severely whipped, &c., &c., guarded and kept within a high enclosure, like prisoners. I blush at this information, but it has all the overwhelming evidence of truth, and, indeed, its verity makes me blush the more. In some instances the consent of the parents of these children has been bought that their children may attend school. The health of nearly all in school at this time is very poor, corrupted by crime in their degraded and depraved ancestors, they are seriously affected with venereal scrofula. In some instances there is great reason to fear the boys and girls have had criminal intercourse with each other while attending this school. Individuals of them have required medical aid and attention to cure them from the disease so common to the dissipated. Our school has given some occasion, perhaps, to be suspected at this point, but possibly as much caution has been used as could be expected all things taken into account. These children receive no

check or restraint on their animal propensities from their parents and friends any more than the pigs in the street, and, as far as I am able to learn, as is the child, so is the parent and the grave is opening to receive them all. A most appalling scene, but so it is. We spent all night in our council, and as some must leave soon we devoted most of Fri. 7. to this most important and very difficult subject, and finally dispersed without settling upon anything very definite. One point, however, tacitly fixed, the school must be managed upon a more economical plan or be discontinued. We deliberated on the practicability of letting H. Campbell take the school and have the use of the property connected with the school and a limited appropriation such as we could possibly make, and let him manage it one year on his own pecuniary responsibility. While I saw a difficulty here, the Mission would have to father the character of the school and also the management and government of the school, and as it was confidentially suggested to me that rumor has thrown shades over Bro. Campbell's character in reference to some events which are said to have taken place between Br. Campbell and S—a, a student in the school, I dare not venture this expedient. In the afternoon returned to Doct. Babcock.

Sat. 8. Today I sell the farm at Clatsop to J. L. Parish, at Clatsop, as follows: He takes it, stock and tools, as an equivalent for his claims on the Missionary Society, for his return to the states, and also for his claim as a preacher for six months. He has the use of the canoe while employed as a preacher. He is to pay $30 for the chaldron kettle now at Clatsop.

Sun. 9. Today we have meeting in the granary at the hospital. About twenty hearers—perhaps ten in class. This to me appears as the day of small things as far as meetings are concerned. This day I complete reading the bible in course the third time since we left New York.

Mon. 10. Return to the Indian School. Attend the school, have the children recite, read, spell, examined their writing. They have some aptitude in penmanship, some knowledge of geography. A few of them can read in the testament though poorly. One half of them are in the alphabet or abs. I requested the teacher to give me a list of their names and of the days they were present and absent for two or three months past. Some of these children have been in school or attached to the school for perhaps six years or more, their progress has not been rapid, but there are many reasons why their progress is slow. Their ignorance of the English Language in childhood, their poor health, frequent running away, &c, the loss of time and interruption attendant on these events are among them. The practicability of continuing this school is very doubtful in my mind. I am satisfied there has been very loose management in the business department of the school, great unnecessary waste from a neglect to take care of the various tools and utensils about the premises, which are left here and there in a manner tending rapidly to decay, but even here it should be kept in mind that those who used these tools and left or dropped them here and there, were Indian boys.

Tues. 11. This Indian school is the subject of thought and topic of conversation, one of the most difficult and embarassing subjects that has presented itself to my view as connected with the Mission, designed originally as a most noble charity to educate the youth of both sexes so that they may rise in intelligence and virtue to such a degree as to enjoy life itself, and extend a helpful influence among the surrounding Indians. This school has, in some form, and in some way been in progress for perhaps eight years. Formerly it was conducted in the old buildings, as they are called, about ten miles down the Williamette River. More than three years ago it was determined to move this school into this vicinity. The building erected for it is seventy-one feet long, 24 feet

wide, three stories high, with two wings 24 feet square. A noble edifice in appearance, it is not finished, the cornice is not on, weather-boards not on; it will, doubtless cost more than two thousand dollars. It will take more than two thousand dollars to finish it? It is decaying for the want of some more labor on it. It has probably cost the Mission now from eight to ten thousand dollars. It will take more than two thousand dollars to finish it. What shall be done? There are no adult Indians in the Williamette part of the territory that appear to lead a religious life, not one in society. A few of the children in school profess religion, but the consistency of their profession depends greatly upon the religious excitement for the time being. This day I received the following exhibit of school for sixty days past from the teacher, which I suppose about the ordinary state of the school.

Male children:

Benjm. Roberts	Present	29	days	Absent	30
Enoch Mudge		29			30
Francis Hall		29			31
G. R. Carter		36			24
Ion Tuttle		13			47
Jason Lee		9	(Run away.)		
Jared Pickins		12		Absent	48
John Hall		59			1
John Mudge		12			48
Edgar Spaulding		20			40
Jos. Shangaster [Shangarati]		11			49
Thomas Mitchell		39	(Lately Admitted)		
Osman Baker		16		Absent	44
Peter Akers		57			3
David		59			1
Wm. Sutton		59			1
Thomas Adams		0			60
Peter Andersen		0			60
Angelica Carpenter		49			11
Quimmo		13			47
Elizabeth Atwell		57			3
Mary Ann Bastinette		3	(taken away.)		
Nancy Baker		56			4

Lucy Hedding	32	28
Sarah Stevens	7	53
Sarah Rich	52	8
Rebecca Rich, (lately adm.)		10

Deducting the apprentices, the runaway and the one taken away, leaving on the school list twenty-three scholars. Some of this absence is from sickness and some for labor on the farm, as it is a manual labor school. I believe I shall come to the conclusion to discontinue this school. I have no idea of ever being able to hear how a great proportion of the appropriation made to this Mission has been expended. Perhaps the Board will obtain from Brother Lee all the information that can be obtained on the question.

Sat. 15. For a few days I have been right busy in writing to the Board and friends in the states, to be sent over the mountains by a small party who design to return to the states.

Sun. 16. Preached at the school, forty-five hearers, old and young, white and Indian.

Mon. 17. Finished our letters. My letters to the Board mostly filled with reference to the Indian manual labor school.

Tues. 18. Visited at Mr Holman's.[10] Mr H. married Miss Phelps, who came to the territory in the great excitement of 1840, as a female teacher. I inquired of her how long she had taught school since she came. Answer, nearly two months. She informed me she used to keep an account of everything that was taken from mission goods for each scholar, but no one had ever inquired for the account. The largest number she had on her school list was 32, the highest number I am able to find on the list at any time was 42. Mrs Holman speaks like all the others I have seen and conversed with on the subject, of the large reinforcement. They were so thick that they

[10] Joseph Holman, an immigrant with the Peoria party, 1839-40, married, in Oregon, Almira Phelps, a teacher, who came with the fourth group of Methodist missionaries, June 1, 1840.

were in each other's way and comparatively had nothing to do but to take care of each other or tread on one another's toes, and within less than a year she gave her hand in wedlock to Mr. Holman, and is now busily employed in rocking the cradle to quiet her second child.

Wed. 19. I have been enjoining it upon Brother Lee [Leslie?] to keep a diary, in which the passing events of each day shall be entered, embracing the opportunities to do good his own feelings, in doing this good any peculiar events &c., &c., &c., and if nothing important transpired, his reading for the day, and his remarks concerning what he reads, and send the same to the Board. I think it altogether probable I shall find it easier to preach than to practice this diary lecture. This day I read Doctor Clark's general preface to his commentaries, in which I see not only his severe remarks concerning Doctor Coke, but his more just remarks concerning those calculations, or perhaps more properly speaking, prophecies of the end of the world, like Mr Miller and the Millerites as they are called in the States.

Sat. 22nd. Returned to the hospital, Doctor Babcock's.

Sab. 23rd. Preached in the granary about twenty hearers old and young.

Mon. 24. Spent in reading books belonging to Doct. Babcock's professional library.

Tues. 25. Visited Mr Smith and family.[11] Had a pleasant and religious interview. This visit will not be last.

Wed. 26. Returned to the school, met most of the male members belonging to the M. E. Church in the region, at Rev. D. Leslie's in consultation about the state of our property connected with the Indian manual labor school. Their members have already made a beginning to establish a literary institution on the Wallace Prairie, about three miles from our Indian School, to be called

[11] Probably Andrew Smith, immigrant with Dr. White's party, October, 1842.

the Oregon Institute. They have chosen trustees, commenced a building and expended a few thousand dollars. After the meeting was organized, I stated to them that I had settled it in my mind to close the Indian School in this place, and that if they could arrange their affairs so as to deem it proper to purchase the building used for the Indian School, I was ready to sell it to them on the following conditions: We reserve the parsonage, which is perhaps forty rods from the school building, for a parsonage, and as much land with parsonage as shall be judged proper. Also mission mills and as much land with the mills as we deem desirable; then I would sell them the large school building and our title to as much land as we reserve for the parsonage and also for mills, for four thousand dollars, with annual interest at six per cent, payments to be made annually of $500.00. It is, furthermore, understood and declared that if Rev. J. Lee has obtained, or shall soon obtain any title from the Congress of the United States of this land for the Mission of M. E. Church, such title shall be conveyed to the trustees of Oregon Institute. It is also agreed that if said Mr Lee obtain from Congress a title as above, to more sections of land in this plat of land (formerly designed for the Indian School) than are embraced in the parsonage lot and in the mill reserve, also an equal amount of land to these reserves to be connected with a [the?] large building, then and in that case the surplus lands are to be considered the joint property equally belonging to the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church and the trustees of Oregon Institute, and their successors in office. They appointed a committee from this Board of Trustees to make the purchase, said committee were also authorized and directed to sell their former premises. In this arrangement there was great unanimity of judgment and feeling and it is hoped that a foundation was laid for a literary institution which in its influence will contribute much to the intellectual and moral interest

of the rising community. Now it is settled this Indian School is to be given up. In addition to what I have heretofore remarked on the propriety of this measure, I will now say that within eighteen months previous to my arrival in this territory, nine members of the school have died. Within seven months seven of the present members (23) have been lost to human view. Some of the present members can live but a few months. Quite a number of these have scrofula sores about the glands of the neck. Whenever this loathsome disease takes its course toward the lungs, then the poor sufferer soon sleeps in death. There are but very few of the children now in school who do not show evident marks of this disease. From observation I am satisfied the scholars have had a very great opportunity for pilfering. For instance the girls have daily passed through the places of deposit of goods and clothing to and from their lodging rooms and have had every opportunity to take small garments and many things and distribute among visiting Indians. Perhaps twenty opened kegs of nails and many other things [are] every way accessible to where the boys lodge. One peculiar trait in the Indian character is to have everything in common and to use and distribute as they have opportunity to take, consequently there can be calculation of the leaky state of this Indian Manual Labor School. A man employed as an assistant excused himself for giving away to visiting Indians and to squaws, as without measure or weights, saying these things were sent to be given away as though he who gave away the most was the best fellow. Timely charities and noble deeds, but this loose and irresponsible mode of operation must be exceedingly improper. To be sure much of this could be remedied by a careful and judicious arrangement of the internal management of the school, yet I am settled in the opinion that it is not best to continue this school any longer, and I believe I am sustained in this opinion by all in the mission now in this land,

except H. Campbell. In the afternoon we went into the fields and sold the growing crops, growing under the management of the Manual Labor School. Oats $4.00 per acre, seventeen acres $68.00; 3 acres of peas $12.25 per acre $36.75; potatoes 2¼ acres, total $19.12½; twelve acres of wheat total $180.00. By this sale we get rid of the harvest and I am well satisfied, lose nothing and save ourselves from considerable trouble.

Thurs. 27. Today we sell our mills to Mr. Force,[12] giving him our title to two sections of land connected with said mills, with the fixtures belonging to said mills. Also one wagon, one cart, 2 saws, 6 log chains, mill hogs, a steer or steers belonging to the mill, and bolting cloth sufficient for a bolt; he gives up our liabilities for repairs, he having taken these mills on shares heretofore, and also allows Mr Judson his privileges as formerly leased to said Judson.

Mr Force pays for the mills $6000 with interest annually at six per cent. Payments annually $500. These mills have cost the mission no telling how much. For breakage, damage, repairs, &c., it is supposed that on an average every day they run from eight to ten dollars. I am well pleased with the sale. Before the papers were executed, Mr Force sells to L. H. Judson[13] and William H. Wilson [Willson]. They are the debtors to the Mission. In the afternoon we sell to H. Campbell the following stock:

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[12] James and John Force were immigrants with Dr. White's party, October, 1842.

[13] Judson, Willson and Campbell were members of the Methodist Mission. They were cabinet makers and carpenters.

Forty tame horn cattle		$790.00
Sundry lot of wild cattle, supposed to be about one hundred, more or less in sale, However, they are wild as deer.		$400.00
221 cattle in a barn near the school at $10.00 per head		$2210.00
5 Cattle Horses	)	
5 old Horses	)	
30 mares and colts	)	$835.00
7 yearling colts	)	
12 three and four year old colts	)	
	Total	$4235.00

To be paid in seven annual payments with annual interest at six per cent, secured by mortgage on the property. In all my sales I am trying to make my debts secure, but in the very fluctuating state of things here some of these debts made have to be poor, but I guard at this point all I can. Mr Campbell has a fair standing in credit, as far as I am able to learn, yet, if I mistake not he is such a man as I should have to watch if I did much business with him, though they all speak of him as though Rev. J. Lee had more than ordinary confidence in him. We have made arrangements where nearly all the Indian scholars will be as well off in families as they would be in school until they die or run away. This provision for these children is a great relief to my mind. We give them some clothes and the older ones various other articles, as tokens of good will and to encourage them in the way they should go. After making these arrangements, return at evening to Doc. Babcock's with great relief to my mind, or with some satisfaction as though our visit to Oregon was not in vain. If I am not mistaken in what ought to be done here, it is high time to have it done, and a year's delay would sink from seven to ten thousand dollars without any probable benefit. I feel as though I was never serving the church to greater benefit than in my visit to this Mission, though I foresee most of the secular members of the Mission will be crossed in their feelings, as I approach and remodel the

peculiar branch at which they are employed I think I see in almost each a disposition to have the other secular branches closed except his own.

Fri. 28. I am more and more convinced it was a great error in sending the great reinforcement of 1839. I find no one among the previous persons employed in the Mission who appears willing to own he was for having so large an increase. On the arrival of this heavy company there was nothing for them to do to any possible advantage, and everything they attempted to do was attempted under almost every possible disadvantage and, consequently, attended with loss. In some instances I suspect, the Mission means were used with an indifference bordering on prodigality. It was almost impossible it should be otherwise, situated as they were, at any rate. Mr Lee could not have his eye in every place, and every one, as far as I am able to learn was master where he was, and if any submitted to Mr Lee's judgment and control, it was those who would have done the best without control. The consequences were they had to manage themselves and the affairs about them, they of course must have their own way. I suppose I have sold the large school building for less than half its cost, yet considering our people have bought it and have bought it with the design to devote it as a place for education and as many of their children are in great need of its advantages already, and the rising generation in this territory will continue to need it, I feel as though the building is by no means lost, and think we may hope many and great blessings will flow out from this school upon this distant land, giving to its rising youth elevation of character or intelligence and virtue. The Roman Catholics, I understand, are making arrangements to establish a literary institution, but our people entering into this opening may, and probably will, take the lead in educating the youth of this land. There has been subscriptions circulated to some extent among the inhabitants, to raise

and establish a school of a high and respectable character, but the constitution under which subscription is made is so exceedingly sensitive in guarding against sectarianism as to open the door for a kind of valetudinarianism, the limits of which cannot be readily calculated, but in the organization of the Oregon Institute, though not sectarian in the common acceptation of the term, yet it is a school under the care and management of the members of the Methodist E. Church, through this board of trustees, and I think there is no doubt but that when there is an annual conference organized in this region, this school will be presented to said conference for its acceptance, patronage and management. It is presumable I might have sold the premises for more to the Romanists, but I should not have felt near as well about the sale. Though I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, yet I think this school will be a great blessing to this land.

Sun. 30. Preached in the granary in the neighborhood of the hospital. Seventeen hearers old and young. There are few who attend our meetings except our own people. The population is sparse to be sure, yet if there was the love of meeting so desirable for the welfare and prosperity of a new country, I think we should have twice as many hearers as we now have.

[1844] Mon. July 1. It is now seven months since we left New York. One month since we arrived at Willamette Falls, taking all things into account, the month has been a pleasant one, and, I trust, of some use to the Mission. I guess the secular pursuits of the Mission will feel more and more my arrival in this land. This is a fine country for agricultural pursuits. Wheat is raised very easily. Plow the prairies once and drag in the seed grain, and then the difficulty remains which is the harvesting. The crop is abundant. I never saw such promising crops of wheat as now appears in the fields.

July 4. Independence finds us at camp meeting at Yam Hill. Here we spend five days very pleasantly in

a good meeting. Eight tents on the ground, some of them very small. Perhaps eighty hearers in the largest congregation. It is the day of small things, yet I hope greater and better things will soon follow. Sunday night a poor, miserable sinner made his confession of guilt and sin. He had murdered in different places in the state, and been associated with gamblers and, indeed, every club of the vicious which came within his reach, so that all crimes were common—highway robbery and murder excepted, all shielded by avowed infidelity. Such a confession I have never heard before. He left the grounds on Monday morning at the close of the meeting with an humbled spirit and a broken heart. Our sympathies and prayers will follow him.

Tuesday night. We reached Willamette Falls. The Secular affairs of the Mission are again upon my hands, and by the by, the Mission is more known as a secular concern than anything else.

Wednesday 10. Busy writing preparing letters for friends in the states.

Thursday 11. Today we made a bargain with Mr. Beers to sell him the farm which he occupies, with the stock, tools, &c, at the appraisal of Messrs. Force and Cook.[14] This sale puts a heavy concern off of our hands. We soon shall be able to dismiss Mr Beers from the services of the Mission; whenever the present crops are secured and disposed of by mutual arrangement, his support from the Mission is to cease. This family is a large one—wife and six children. His salary and table expenses have been nearly eight hundred dollars a year. I gave him out of his purchase one thousand dollars as an equivalent for his claim on the Board to be returned to the place of his former residence in the states. I find a disposition in our laymen to return, unless they can get about what it would cost the Board to return them. By paying them here we save the expense of a delay for

[14] Probably Amos Cook, of the Peoria party of 1839-40.

a chance to sail, which is no small consideration. Our title as a Mission to the claims of land, is, in my opinion, just good for nothing at all. Such is the state of public feeling in reference to the Mission having many sections of good land not occupying them themselves, and not suffering others to occupy them. A strong reaction is about meeting us, and the sooner we are freed from these land claims, the better, if I judge right. This Mission farm of Mr. Beers has done the best of any of our farm business here, yet I doubt if everything was taken into account, of its more than sustaining itself. Possibly it may a little more than that this year.

Friday 12. This day I received a list of charges against Brother A. F. Waller, prepared by Doct. E. White. These charges relate mostly to the controversy between B.[rother] Waller and Doc. McLaughlin [John McLoughlin] in reference to a land claim at Willamette Falls. B. Waller says he cannot safely meet these charges without Rev. Judson [Jason] Lee as a witness in the case. After considerable consultation upon the subject with Brother Waller and others, I came to the conclusion to give Brother Waller the call of the Bishop to return to the states and take his place as a member of the Genessee Conference, designing to send the charges to said conference with the evidence. Doctor White may present evidence on the subject, giving an opportunity to Brother Waller to obtain the testimony of Judson Lee in the case. The parties agree in the arrangement. My reasons for this are, I think we can spare Brother Waller from the Mission. Doctor McLaughlin, at the head of Hudson Bay Company in this region, has almost unbounded influence, and Doctor White claims to act as his agent in this matter, consequently I fear for the witnesses what they may say in the prosecution. We cannot form a committee according to the form of discipline, not having traveling preachers enough for such committee, and I dread the tide of sympathy Doctor McLaughlin may

raise provided Brother Waller is not highly censured by his brethren. I am of the opinion Doctor McLaughlin, Doc. White are ready to take any and every advantage to the injury and prejudice of the Mission. I find myself attended by Doctor White, who has some following about him. I think we should be better if he was in the states or somewhere else as far from us as that. He was expelled from the church in this land once and when he came back from the states he brought a letter of membership, joined here, professedly made friends with Mr Lee. Now I have him about me. He has withdrawn from the society here, professing the Mission is very corrupt, &c., &c., &c.

Saturday 13. We are busy in preparing to make Doc. McLaughlin an offer of our house and lots in this place, including store and dwelling houses. We reserved two lots for a meeting house now in building, designing if we sell the house where Mr. Abernethy lives to buy and be in a much more eligible situation for a parsonage.

Sab. 14. Meeting at the Falls, congregation small. Everything indicated a strong prejudice against us as a Mission.

Mon. 15. Today Doctor White withdraws his charges against Brother Waller, for the purpose of making out a new set. Agreed we meet tomorrow at two o'clock P. M. to hear evidence to be taken and sent to Genessee Conference. Doctor White is to present a copy of his new charges to Brother Waller today so that he may be ready to meet them. The evidence is to be taken in the presence of the parties and also in the presence of David Leslie, Gustavus Hines and G. Gary. G. Hines is to serve as secretary, all mutual arrangement so far, yet I am sicker and sicker of Doc. White. This day we made a proposition to Doc. McLaughlin to sell him twelve house lots, with the improvements on them, in this village, for six thousand dollars. He is to pay what we may owe the Hudson's Bay Company next fall and pay the re-

mainder in ten years, with interest annually, at six per cent. We talked over the privilege of paying in wheat, what we may wish to, and the impression is we shall not owe more than $2000 after we may deliver what wheat we may wish to deliver.*

Tues. 16. Doc. McLaughlin accepts of our proposition, denies employing Doc. White to enter charges against Brother Waller. At two P. M. we meet to receive the testimony against Brother Waller, when lo and behold Doctor White has not given him a copy of the charges. The Doctor gave me the charges yesterday, but took them away to copy for himself and promised to let Brother Waller have them, or a copy of them yesterday. After considerable consultation, we adjourned until evening. In the evening we met and spent most of the night in receiving evidence, then adjourned until tomorrow evening at eight o'clock.

Wednesday 17. Eight in the evening we meet and spend the whole night in taking evidence in Brother Waller's case. The reason we continued all night, there is a vessel in the river soon to sail for Sandwich Islands and we wish to get Brother Waller away in this vessel, as there is no telling when he may have another chance to sail for the Islands. We have heard all the evidence presented against Brother Waller. It has not been so strong against him as I expected. I have a better opinion of Brother Waller than I had before we began. I am still sicker and sicker of Doctor White.

Thurs. 18. Rest today is sweet. Perhaps I may here say we had brother Perkins with us at the Camp Meeting. He was in the place a few days after. Took a great interest in Doctor White's behalf in these charges and when he parted with us last Saturday evening told me,

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* Gary's proposal to McLoughlin is set out in Elwood Evans, *Hist. Pac. Northwest,* Vol. I, p. 253, where the details of the negotiation, arbitration and settlement are stated. See also F. V. Holman, *Dr. McLoughlin,* p. 110; Frances Fuller Victor, *The River of the West,* p. 360; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* Vol. I, p. 223.

with a good deal of feeling, if I sold these houses and lots to Doctor McLaughlin, it would split the Mission. He wished them to be given to Doctor McLaughlin. Probably he was swayed by Doctor White. Notwithstanding his threat of splitting the Mission, I have sold them. He has gone to the Dells [The Dalles]. Left early Monday morning. If his feelings keep up, I may expect some tremenduous explosion. I may be blown as high as a cat's back.

Friday 19. Busy in writing to the Board and to the Genessee Conference. Trouble and vexations with Doctor White. See more of it the 25th Inst.

Sat. 20. This day drew on the treasurer for $150.00 for an old draft by Rev. J. Lee to Doctor Babcock, dated August 9th, 1842, as a duplicate was wanted. None originally given. I took the old one, drew another new one, also same date. Drew for $500 more for Doctor Babcock in part his salary this year. This draft at thirty days after sight.

Jul. 23. Drew on the treasurer to pay Mr Lee's passage from Columbia River to Oahu, which had been paid by Ladd & Co. This draft to pay said Company amounts to $215.00 ten days after sight. I also drew for $210.00 for Mr Waller's passage to the Islands. Another also for Mr Waller to obtain passage from the Islands to the sea, for $700 30 days sight. Advanced to Brother Waller in cash $100.00 to assist him at the Islands in case he should be detained there. He and family have received as an outfit from our old donation goods, about seventy dollars. These are without charge as salary or table expenses. We have to hurry him off with great haste to save this opportunity. He will take a certificate from Mr Abernethy setting forth his claim upon the Mission.

Wed. 24. Finished our letter to friends in the states and in the one to the Board, the members in Society have given as follows:

	White	Indian	Local Preacher
Williamette Settlement	41	8 Children	3
Williamette Falls	16		
Dells [The Dalles]	3		
Clatsop	5		1
	65	8	4

Refer to a copy of this letter as it touches some points not entered in the Journal.

Thurs. 25. Brother Waller and family now leave this place for the states. He is to take passage in the Chewamers [*Chenamus*], now down the Columbia River. I have been for about two weeks crowded with business. Brother Waller's case and the many vexations and annoyances connected with it, and springing out of it, being among strangers and scarcely knowing who is who and what is what, I have had my difficulties. I now think if I had known as much about Doc. White as I think I now know, I never should have paid any attention to him as an accuser of the Brethren. Last Thursday he wished an opportunity to copy the evidence taken on the charges against Brother Waller. I told him we had taken this for the Genessee Conference and he had every opportunity to take his own notes or minutes, and that I should send these papers as they were to the Conference and if he wanted a copy, he must apply to said Conference for a copy. Afterward he handed me a letter directed to me. I asked him who wrote it. He said he did. I told him I wanted no correspondence with him and was not disposed to read his letter. He might take it again, or, if he wished, I would send it to Genessee Conference. He wished it sent. It was sent without reading. I think I shall get rid of Doctor White's palaver and letters. Last Friday he got up a public meeting, so called. Notices were put on the doors of business places. Eight or nine persons met. The most or all of them were known to be under the control of Hudson Bay Company, or Doctor

McLaughlin influence. Toward evening the Secretary presented me with the following:

"Oregon City, 19th July, 1844. Rev. G. Gary: I have to inform you that, at a public meeting of the citizens of this place, of which Mr Lovejoy was Chairman and J. E. Long, Secretary, the following resolutions were passed:

"Resolved, 1. That the Secretary be requested to apply to Rev. George Gary for permission to copy the minutes of the trial of A. F. Waller, for the information of this meeting.

"Resolved, 2. That when said minutes are obtained, each witness be allowed to place his signature to his own statement."

Signed by Chairman and Secretary.

I took the letter from the Secretary and read it and replied orally. This was a Church concern and the evidence was taken to be sent to the proper authorities of the church. If he or the public meeting wanted a copy of the minutes, they must apply to the proper judicators of the church for it, which would be the annual conference of which Mr Waller is a member. I also told him I thought it was not courteous in the public to intermeddle with the affairs and business of the church. This people may think age has some stubbornness about it. Some of our friends were for attending this public meeting to explain and vindicate our course, but my advice was to take no notice of it. Pay attention to our business and let them alone. This advice was followed and I think the members of this public meeting will not retain the recollection of this meeting and their very important resolutions with a great deal of self-congratulation.

Fri. 26. Rest and quietude are in good season and very refreshing.

Sat. 27. Spent this day in counsel with Mr Burnett,[15] from the states, now an inhabitant of this territory, in reference to the papers necessary to pass in the sales we

[15] Peter H. Burnett.

are making, so that the security may be good, and that our conveyance of claims may be such as to involve us in no trouble hereafter. The state of society here is very unsettled and securities are consequently less certain.

Sab. 28. A small meeting, perhaps twenty hearers.

Mon. 29. Made an arrangement to buy out Brother Hines, the house where he now lives, for a parsonage. Am to give $1500 for it. Thirteen hundred in this country pay, two hundred the Board. Beautiful situation.

Tues. 30. Today I rode with Mr Abernethy to the hospital, about forty miles on horseback. So long since I have rode any, am weary enough.

Wed. 31. With Mr Abernethy taking an inventory of goods left here when Mr Abernethy moved to the Falls. Some of them purchased goods and some donation goods from the former purchasers and former parcels of donation goods. Our purchase merchandise we sell to Mr Abernethy at 25% advance on purchase price bills. Old donation goods at 50% discount on the marked prices. Mr Abernethy takes them all.

[1844] Thurs. Aug. 1. Busy at the Manual Labor School taking our invoice here of purchased and donation goods.

Fri. 2. Continue in the examination of the goods and farming tools at this school. Also here is a great supply of joiner's and carpenter's tools, many of them damaged, and some missing. Sell to Mr Campbell all not found damaged and good, of carpenter's and joiner's tools at 80% advance on the purchase bills. Our donation goods that we are selling to Mr Abernethy are the remnants and refuse of all parcels herebefore sent. Some of them were old clothes when sent; others are moth and mouse eaten and a very great proportion of the garments are suitable for young children. The best have undoubtedly been used. The refuse remains. We sell them cheap, but can do no better.

Sat. 3. Returned to Williamette Falls.

Sab. 4. Preached at the Falls to about thirty hearers old and young. Though our congregation is small, the meeting is good.

Mon. 5. Today I received a letter from Brother Perkins, in which he declares off from Mission and considers himself no longer connected with the Mission. Now have to provide for the Dells, which is the difficult question before me, but to our great relief Brother Brewer is with us and we are able to avail ourselves of his counsel and all the information he can give us. Today we hear also that there is a strong reinforcement to the Roman Catholic Mission in this region. Report says five priests, a number of nurses, one or more laymen. Surely the Protestants ought to wake up. Perhaps, however, the children of this world are not only wiser in this generation than the children of light, but also more accurate and zealous.

Tues. 6. The great point of present care is how to provide for the Dells. Had I supposed Brother Perkins would have taken the course he has, I think I should have retained Brother Waller in the mission. As it is, I probably shall go to Dells myself and let Brother Perkins either return to his conference or go to England, as he suggests in his letter in October, or, as I suppose, when the Hudson Bay Company's vessel shall sail, either in October or November.

Wed. 7. We this day hear the Chenamus[16] sailed and left Brother Waller. He is at the Clatsop [Indian village] near Baker Bay. The wind was so high and the water so rough he could not get his family safely to the vessel and she went out and left him. I have some inclination to retain him in the mission and send him to the Dells to take the place and labor formerly occupied and attended to by Brother Perkins.

Thurs. 8. More and more disposed to have Brother

[16] Captain John H. Couch's new brig, built for the Pacific trade, owned by Captain Cushing, father of Hon. Caleb Cushing, active when member of Congress in behalf of Oregon.

Waller remain in the mission, provided he is so disposed. Sent a letter to Brother Leslie to get his advice on the subject.

[*To be continued*]

LETTER FROM PETER H. BURNETT, ESQ.

(From *The Platte Argus* [Mo.] of the 2nd)

The following letter was received yesterday by a citizen of this county from Mr. Burnett by the way of Oahu, and forwarded by the American Consul. The details will be deemed interesting by his old friends and neighbors, and are indeed of importance to all who take an interest in the affairs of Oregon.

"Falatin Plains, Oregon, Nov. 4, 1844.

"* * * The emigrants are all arriving, and will be here in a few weeks at furtherest, and I expect to receive other letters and papers. I have now an opportunity of writing a hasty letter, as one of the H. B. Co's ships, the Columbia, leaves Vancouver in a few days for Sandwich Islands.

"Our country is most beautiful, fertile and well watered, with the most equable and pleasant climate. Our population is rapidly increasing, and the country is making progress in wealth and refinement. I have never yet before seen a population so industrious, sober and honest as this. I know many young men who were the veri[e]st vagabonds in the states, who are here respectable and doing exceedingly well.

"Our crops the past year (1844) have been most bountiful, and we have a full supply of wheat for our consumption, and a large quantity for exportation. Large numbers of cattle are raised here which are never fed or sheltered. Many men have from three to four hundred head of cattle. Sheep can be had in any desir-

able number, as the H. B. Co. have a large flock, and many private individuals have a large quantity.

Ere this reaches you, perhaps you will have learned that we have a regular government in most successful operation in Oregon. When I first reached this region about one year ago, I thought any attempt at organization might be premature. I had not, however, been here long before I conceived that a government of some kind was inevitable. It grew out of stern invincible necessity. Our commercial and business transactions were considerable. Difficulties were daily occurring between individuals in relation to their 'claims'; the estates of deceased persons were daily devoured and helpless orphans plundered; crimes were committed and the base and unprincipled and reckless and turbulent were hourly tramping upon the rights of the honest and peac[e]able. A civilized population, numerous as we were, could not exist without government. The thing was impossible. We therefore organized a government of our own.

"We have no money, no means. I was a member of the Legislature. I had most of the business to do. We passed a tax bill, appointed an assessor and permitted every man not to pay a tax if he chose so to do; but if he did not pay, being able, we disbarred him from suing in the courts as plaintiff.

"At the same time we passed acts to protect all bona fide settlers in their claims to the amount of 640 acres. The tax bill operated like a charm. Nearly all the population paid without hesitation.

"We selected a tall Tennesseean, Joseph L. Meek, for our sheriff. He had been in the mountains with Wm. L. Subblett for eight or ten years, is exceedingly good humored, very popular, and as brave as Julius Caesar. The first warrant he had delivered to him was issued for the apprehension of a very quarrelsome and turbulent man who resisted Meek with a broad axe, but Meek, presenting a cocked pistol, took the fellow *nolens volens*. The

next and only case of serious resistance to our laws was on the part of Joel Turnham, of Mo., son of May Turnham of Clay County. He had assaulted an individual, and a warrant was issued by a Justice of the Peace. Turnham was himself a constable, and John Edmons [John Edmunds Pickernell] was deputized to arrest him. Turnham resisted with a large butchers knife, but Edmons had a pistol with six barrels well charged. He shot Turnham four times, the last ball entering above the temple when he immediately expired. These are all the obstructions to the administration of justice we have had, and in Edmons case he was justifiable in killing Turnham, even if he had no warrant, as T. assaulted him first and pursued him with great violence to the last.

"We now have five counties and two terms of the circuit court in each county in every year. We have but one judge, who discharges the duties of probate judge, chancellor, and what not; in fact, we have only as yet circuit courts and justices of the peace.

"Our government was intended only as provisional, to exist until some regular governrment could be established.

"We adopted the statute laws of Iowa which were applicable to our condition, and not modified by our legislature.

"We are now waiting most anxiously for the result of Pakenham's mission; and if the two governments have not settled the question between them, the moment the fact is known, there will be one universal movement made. A regular convention will be held and a constitution adopted (republican no doubt), and an independent government put in operation at once. Necessity will compel us to the step. The population of this country are no doubt desirous to live under the government of the United States, but if she will never do anything for us, we must and will do it for ourselves. The people here are worn out by delay, and their condition becomes

every day more intolerable. I speak to you with great candor, for you know me, and know that I withold nothing and disguise nothing. We are well satisfied that the United States Government, as well as Great Britain, could not object if we form an independent government for ourselves situated as we are.

"Treaties must be made with the Indians, and many other things of importance must of necessity be done. The practice of law has commenced, and I have several important suits on hand. Our population about doubles every year and our business trebles. We will soon have a printing press and paper of our own. We can then publish our laws. I have a fine claim, perhaps among the best in Oregon, situated in one of those most beautiful prairies called Fallatine Plains. I am in excellent health. Mrs. B's health has improved, and my children are all well, fat and fine.

"Your Friend

"PETER H. BURNETT"

[From *Western Farmer*, III, 346 (Nov. 4, 1871)]

FINE STOCK FOR OREGON

Mr. S. G. Reed, of Portland, Oregon, accompanied by Wm. Watson, his manager, and a gentleman ranking very high as a judge of stock of all kinds, and thoroughly informed in all that relates to them, has been making a tour among the principal stock breeding districts of this country, and has made large purchases of fine stock, to be shipped to Oregon.

From M. H. Cochrane, of Canada, 16 Short-Horn cows and heifers, and one bull calf—nearly all imported. From W. S. King, of Minnesota, a bull calf by Gen. Napier, and a heifer calf. Of Ayrshires, a bull and a bull calf, two heifers and heifer calf, were purchased of

Mr. Gibbs of Canada. Two Jersey heifers and bull calf were purchased in Canada. An imported Clydesdale stallion and four Clydesdale mares were purchased in Canada. Two Cotswold rams and twenty ewes, all imported, were purchased of Mr. Cochrane. Berkshire swine were purchased from Mr. Craig, of Canada; S. H. Clay, of Kentucky,—in each case prize animals at Chicago Exposition—and from David Crinklaw, of Marengo, Ill.,—in all 12 head. Three Essex pigs were purchased from Wood and Driggs, of Michigan.

This undoubtedly is very much the finest lot of stock ever purchased for Oregon, and we trust the enterprise of Mr. Reed will be appreciated and rewarded. We had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of these gentlemen at the Wisconsin State Fair, and from what we there learned of them we have no doubt that all this stock has been selected with admirable judgment, and that it will be well cared for in future.

[From *Western Farmer*, IV, 26 (Jan. 27, 1872)]

SHORT-HORNS IN OREGON

R. C. Geer, of Marion Co., Oregon, in a letter to the Willamette Farmer, makes some interesting statements in regard to early importations of Short-Horn cattle into Oregon. He believes a Short-Horn bull was imported in 1842, and states positively that a large roan Durham bull was led across the plains to Oregon in 1843; in 1845 and 1847 herds of this same breed were imported, while in 1853 a considerable number were imported—one lot of 12 by a firm of which he was a member. In 1854, 1859, 1863 and 1866 other importations were made; some from herds of noted breeders. He says the effects of the very importations are still clearly seen, and that Oregon, not counting recent importations, has many fine thoroughbred cattle.

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A NORTHWEST TRADER AT THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

By RALPH S. KUYKENDALL
Executive Secretary of the Hawaiian Historical Commission

The more we study the history of the traders who came into the Pacific Ocean for the purpose of collecting furs, hides, and whale oil, the more clearly we perceive the close connection existing in the early days between the Hawaiian Islands and the northwest coast of America. The operations of the sea captain discussed in this paper—William Brown, master of the English ship *Butterworth*—are an excellent illustration of this connection. Brown is generally said to have been the discoverer of the harbor of Honolulu. Mr. Bruce Cartwright, president of the Hawaiian Historical Society, has recently shown[1] that he is not entitled to the credit for that discovery, and it therefore becomes a matter of some interest to determine just what Brown did do in the course of his several visits to the Hawaiian Islands. We are not able to trace in minute detail all the movements of Captain Brown during the three years he spent in the northwest trade, but enough is known to make possible a fairly

[1] "Honolulu Harbor, 1786-1795" (paper read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, Jan. 25, 1923, and published in the annual report of that society for the year 1922.)

complete sketch of those movements so far as these islands are concerned.

Brown was one of that numerous group of commercial adventurers who flocked into the north Pacific Ocean in the wake of Cook, drawn thither by the chance discovery, as one result of the last expedition led by that great navigator, of the possibilities of wealth in the fur trade between China and the coast of America. But Brown, or the company that sent him out,[2] did not propose to risk everything on the uncertainties of that traffic, and therefore planned to combine the fur trade with sealing and the whale fishery off the coast of South America.[3]

Captain Brown arrived on the northwest coast in the spring or summer of 1792 as head of a squadron of three vessels, the ship *Butterworth,* under his personal command, and the sloops *Jackal,* Captain Alexander Stewart, and *Prince Lee Boo,* Captain Sharp.[4] It is entirely probable that the squadron came out by way of Cape Horn and that on the way Captain Brown made some sort of temporary establishment at Staten Land[5] to serve as a base for the projected sealing and whaling operations.[6]

Of the vessels comprising the squadron we know that the *Butterworth* was a ship of four hundred tons and therefore much larger than the average vessel engaged in the fur trade. She is also said to have formerly

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[2] The vessels belonged to a "company of London Merchants, the principal of which is Alderman Curtis." *A New Vancouver Journal on the Discovery of Puget Sound,* edited by Edmond S. Meany (Seattle, 1915), 24.

[3] Ibid.; George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery* . . . (London, 1801), V, 354.

[4] Joseph Ingraham, *Journal of the Voyage of the Brigantine "Hope"* . . . (MS), entry for July 17, 1792. A photostat copy of this journal is in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu. Vancouver, *op. cit.,* VI, 399. Vancouver calls the *Jackal* a "cutter." Boit names "Captain Gordon" as master of the *Prince Lee Boo* in August, 1792. "John Boit's Log of the Columbia," in *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society,* XXII, 326 (December, 1921). "This was their first season. *New Vancouver Journal* (Meany, ed.), 24, under date Sept. 14, 1792.

[5] Staten Island, off the eastern point of Tierra del Fuego, on the direct route around Cape Horn.

[6] Vancouver, *op. cit.,* V, 354.

been a French frigate of thirty guns. Ingraham gives an interesting description of the *Jackal.* "She had English colors and shew a teir of ports fore and aft the greatest part of which were false or only painted yet they made a good appearance at a distance that for some time we concluded she was a Kings Cutter or tender to some of the men of war on the coast." Judge Howay states that the *Prince Lee Boo* was named after a young chief who had been taken to England by Captain Wilson.[7]

With the operations of these vessels on the northwest coast we are only incidentally concerned. They were not very successful in procuring furs during their first season, but Captain Brown was not discouraged by that fact.[8] How the winter season of 1792-3 was passed is not entirely clear from the evidence now available. Bancroft[9] cites documents which seem to indicate that two of the ships may have been on the California coast in January and March. If that is the case, at least one of them must have touched there on its way to and from the Hawaiian Islands, for two of the vessels spent the month of February, 1793, at that mid-Pacific resort of the fur traders. These two were the *Butterworth,* under command of Captain Brown, and the *Jackal,* under Captain Stewart. There is no mention of the *Prince Lee Boo* at the islands during the winter of 1792-3, and I am therefore inclined to believe that this small sloop was left on the coast.

For our information about this visit of the *Butterworth* and the *Jackal* to the islands we are indebted to the various journals of Vancouver's voyage. The *Butterworth* was not seen by any of these writers, but they heard of her at several places. The *Chatham,* consort of Vancouver's ship, the *Discovery,* came up with the *Jackal*

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[7] Ingraham, *loc. cit.*; "John Boit's Log of the Columbia," *loc. cit.,* notes 170 and 171, by Judge F. W. Howay.

[8] *New Vancouver Journal* (Meany, ed.), 33.

[9] *History of Northwest Coast,* I, 294, note 11.

off the coast of Hawaii on the afternoon of February 16 and

> Mr. Stewart came on board. He told us he had been amongst the Islands a fortnight, he had come to this Island first, and not finding his consort the Butterworth here, he proceeded to the Leeward Islands, when not meeting there with her either, and not getting sufficient refreshments, he worked up again to this Island, and found that in the interim the Butterworth had been here and gone to Mowee.[10]

At this time also the people on the *Jackal* related to those on the *Chatham* a wild tale about Kamehameha's having thrown up a rude fortification and mounted some cannon in Kealakekua bay, a story which was soon found to be entirely groundless.[11] Up to this time the *Jackal* had not been at the island of Maui, but possibly visited it later. The *Butterworth,* as we have seen, called at Hawaii and Maui and in all probability also visited Oahu and Kauai.[12] It seems probable that the two ships left the islands about the end of February, returning to the American coast, though as to the date of their departure from the islands we are without any direct evidence. So much for the itinerary of this visit.

The relations of Captain Brown with the natives of the Hawaiian Islands furnish a more interesting and fruitful subject of discussion. It is customary for writers to severely criticize the fur traders for their practice of selling firearms and ammunition to the natives, and

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[10] *New Vancouver Journal* (MS), entry for Feb. 16, 1793. This is the same journal as that from which Professor Meany edited and published the part relating to the discovery of Puget Sound. A photostat copy of the part relating to the Hawaiian Islands is in the library of the Hawaiian Historical Society. This journal was written on board the *Chatham.*

[11] Vancouver, *op. cit.,* III, 199, 208-9.

[12] I have seen no direct statement that Brown visited Oahu and Kauai at this time, but it seems a fair inference that he did so. It was customary for trading vessels to make the round of the four principal islands, Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. The bargain said to have been made by Brown with Kahekili (see below), involving Oahu and Kauai, would lead us to believe that Brown called at those islands.

the greatest opprobrium for this practice has generally been cast on the American traders. Our information now shows that this English trader, Captain Brown, was one of the worst offenders in this regard, so much so that his death not long after at Honolulu takes on the character of a just retribution. The evidence on this point, while not very extensive, is perfectly clear and convincing. Two charges can be brought against Captain Brown: (1) that he sold firearms and ammunition to the natives of the Hawaiian Islands; and (2) that he incited the chiefs to keep up the internecine warfare which was in large measure responsible for the frightful depopulation of the islands during this period.

In order to understand the significance of these events it is necessary to take into consideration the political situation in the Hawaiian Islands. The three visits of Captain Brown coincide roughly with the visits of Vancouver and fall in the interval between the end of the first important period of the rise of Kamehameha and the final consolidation of the group under his rule. Kamehameha had made himself master of the island of Hawaii, but was still engaged in the long and bitter struggle with Kahekili, the great king of Maui and practical overlord of all the leeward islands (and, according to some Hawaiian legends, the father of Kamehameha). Toward the end of this interval Kahekili died, apparently of old age, leaving his possessions to his less able brother, Kaeokulani, and son, Kalanikupule. This fact and the presence of Captain Brown's ships had an important bearing upon the final success of Kamehameha.

During his first visit to the islands, in February, 1793, Brown, in exchange for provisions, seems to have sold guns and ammunition indiscriminately to both sides of the inter-island struggle, though Kamehameha seems to have gotten rather the worst of the bargain. The anonymous author of the *New Vancouver Journal,* writing off

Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, about the middle of that month, says:

> We were not surpriz'd at the Native's demand for Guns, when we learnt that Mr. Stewart Master of the Jackall and Mr. Brown of the Buttersworth had given ToMaihaMaiha and other chiefs of the Island no less than 30 Muskets in barter for refreshments, this is a most shameful trade, and calls loudly for a stop to be put to it.

And Menzies at the same place soon after, writes:

> At the further end of [Kamehameha's] house we observed upwards of two dozen musquets, which the king said he lately procured in the way of traffic from Mr. Brown, master of the ship Butterworth of London, and added that they were so very bad that some of them burst on the first firing, on which account they were now afraid to fire any of them off.[13]

Menzies' statement suggests another feature of this traffic which deserves to be more particularly noticed, namely, the defective character of much of the material sold to the Hawaiian chiefs. On this point Vancouver writes a scathing denunciation.

> In many instances, no compensation whatever had been given by these *civilized* visitors, after having been fully supplied, on promise of making an ample return, with the several refreshments of the very best quality the country afforded. At other times they had imposed upon the inhabitants, by paying them in commodities of no service or value, though their defects could not be detected by the examination of the natives. This was more particularly the case in those articles which they were most eager to obtain, and most desirous to possess, namely, arms and ammunition; which chiefly composed the merchandize of the North-West American adventurers. Muskets and pis-

[13] Archibald Menzies, *Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago*, edited by W. F. Wilson (Honolulu, 1920), 72. This work contains the Hawaiian portion of the journal of the surgeon and naturalist of Vancouver's flagship, the *Discovery*. The title is of course supplied by the editor.

tols were thus exchanged that burst on being discharged the first time, though with the proper loading. To augment the quantity of gunpowder which was sold, it was mixed with an equal, if not a larger, proportion of pounded sea or charcoal. Several of these fire-arms, and some of the powder, were produced for my inspection in this shameful state, and with the hope that I was able to afford them redress.

Many very bad accidents had happened by the bursting of these fire-arms; one instance in particular came within our knowledge a few days after our arrival. A very fine active young chief had lately purchased a musket, and on trying its effect, with a common charge of powder, it burst; and he not only lost some of the joints of his fingers on the left hand, but his right arm below the elbow was otherways so dangerously wounded, that, had it not been for the timely assistance afforded him by some of our gentlemen of the faculty, his life would have been in imminent danger.

The putting fire-arms into the hands of uncivilized people, is at best very bad policy; but when they are given in an imperfect and insufficient condition for a valuable consideration, it is not only infamously fraudulent, but barbarous and inhuman.[14]

At Maui Captain Brown carried on a more extensive traffic and seems also to have entered into some sort of a politico-commercial agreement with Kahekili. The chiefs of that island informed the people on board the *Chatham* that

> Mr. Brown in the Buttersworth, who had left this Isld. only a fortnight before we arrived had given them a number of Muskets, a very large quantity of Powder, and two pieces of Cannon (4 pounders)—for these last Titeeree [Kahekili] had given to him the whole right & property of the Islands Woahoo [Oahu] & Atooi [Kauai], entitling him to take off them, at his own will every thing he stood in need of, and this strange as it may

[14] Vancouver, *op. cit.*, V, 48-50.

> appear we afterwards found to be true, but these people have a great deal of Cunning, they know that the Ships will only touch at their Islands about a couple of months in a year, and that all they can want would be trifling to them, and for the same price or less they would sell the same Islands over again to every Ship that stops among them.[15]

It is difficult to determine the precise significance of Captain Brown's bargain with Kahekili, but in view of the sequel it appears not improbable that the writer just quoted has underestimated its value. We will presently see that Kahekili derived some benefit from his friendship with Brown and it is not likely that the latter allowed the Hawaiian chief to reap all the profits of the arrangement. It must also be considered in connection with a somewhat similar transaction reported to have taken place at Oahu the following year, which will be noticed hereafter.

Not only did Captain Brown sell arms and ammunition to the Maui chiefs, but it is evident that he also encouraged them in making war upon Kamehameha. One of the principal facts standing to the credit of Vancouver is the earnest effort he made to stop this destructive inter-island warfare. While at Maui in March, 1793, he urged the chiefs of that island to make peace with Kamehameha. In reply to his arguments,

> they desired to know the reason, why the advice I gave was so directly opposite to that of the several commanders, and people of the trading vessels, who for some time past had been their constant visitors? who had uniformly recommended a continuance of the war with Owhyhee; had pointed out the numerous advantages they would obtain; and had supplied them with arms and ammunition, for the express purpose of carrying that advice into execution.[16]

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[15] New Vancouver Journal (MS), entry for March, 1793.
[16] Vancouver, *op. cit.*, III, 319.

In view of the inclusive character of this statement and the fact that Captain Brown had been at Maui but a fortnight before, it is clear that he was one of the "several commanders" who had been giving them this vicious counsel.

The three vessels of Captain Brown's squadron spent the trading season of 1793 on the northwest coast and at the end of the season all of them went to the Hawaiian Islands for the usual refreshments. From there Captain Brown sent the *Butterworth* on her way toward England, by way of Cape Horn, "with directions to fish for whales and seals in passing through the Pacific Ocean, and at Staten Land, where Mr. Brown had formed a temporary establishment." Captain Brown himself with the *Jackal* and *Prince Lee Boo* sailed to Canton.[17]

During this visit to the islands Captain Brown was given an opportunity of performing a useful service for his friend Kahekili. During the spring or summer of 1793 certain disorders occurred on the island of Kauai which seemed to be directed against the authority of that king, and the regent, instigated, as it seems, by a number of renegade white men who had taken up their residence on the island, killed or drove off the men sent by Kahekili to investigate the affair. At this juncture the *Butterworth* arrived at Oahu and Kahekili, who was then residing on that island,

> solicited Mr. Brown to take him to Attowai [Kauai] for the purpose of effecting, in an amicable way, an accommodation with this rebellious chief. With this Mr. Brown complied, and after

[17] Vancouver, *op. cit.*, V, 126, 354; *New Vancouver Journal* (MS), entry for Jan. 20, 1794. These authorities do not state that the three ships went to the Sandwich Islands, but they do show clearly that both Brown and the *Butterworth* were at the islands and indicate that Brown was there *on* the *Butterworth*. Brown himself told Vancouver that he sent the *Butterworth* towards England with the directions noted in the text and that he then went to Canton with the other two ships. In view of these facts it seems to me necessary to conclude that the three vessels were together at the islands before parting for their separate destinations, and it seems also a fair inference that Brown transferred at the islands from the *Butterworth* to the *Jackal*.

an explanatory interview on board his ship, all matters were compromised to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.[18]

Following this diplomatic excursion to Kaui, Captain Brown visited the island of Hawaii, where he left with John Young[19] a letter for Captain Vancouver, giving an account of a number of foreign sailors, principally English and American, who had taken up their residence on the islands of Oahu and Kauai, where they had acquired much influence. These foreigners are variously referred to as "vagabonds" and "renegadoes," and, according to Brown, their presence at the leeward islands constituted a serious menace to visiting vessels, for "by the bad advice, and far worse example, of these people, the natives of most of the leeward islands had arrived at such a degree of daring insolence, as rendered any communication with them from small vessels, or even anchoring near the shores, highly dangerous." As an instance of the danger referred to, Brown stated that these renegades had formed a plan with the natives of Kauai to scuttle and capture the American brig *Hancock,* which had recently called at that island. Fortunately the plan miscarried. This letter was received by Vancouver in January, 1794, about a month after Brown's visit to the island of Hawaii.[20]

Having concluded his business at the islands Captain Brown sailed for Canton, probably in December, 1793,

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[18] Vancouver, *op. cit.,* V, 125-126; Hiram Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford, 1847), 45.

[19] John Young was an English sailor who, while employed as boatswain of the American ship *Eleanora,* Simon Metcalfe, master, was virtually kidnapped by the natives of Hawaii in March, 1790. Though at first he tried to escape, Young soon became reconciled to his situation. He was a friend and trusted adviser of Kamehameha until the death of the latter and is frequently referred to in the Hawaiian accounts as "the king's foreigner." While not highly educated, he possessed common sense and good judgment and, what was more important, a sound character. His name is usually coupled with that of Isaac Davis, who had a somewhat similar history.

[20] Vancouver, *op. cit.,* V, 113-114; New Vancouver Journal (MS), entry for Jan. 20, 1794.

with the *Jackal* and the *Prince Lee Boo*. From Canton he departed February 24, 1794, for the American coast, where he arrived June 30 in the vicinity of Mount Fairweather, Alaska.[21] The trading season having been spent in the usual traffic for furs, Captain Brown took his departure from the coast in the fall of that year for his third and fatal last visit to the Hawaiian Islands. It is impossible to state with certainty just when he arrived there. He was at Nootka Sound October 5, 1794,[22] and therefore could not have reached the islands much before the first of November. An apparently reliable authority[23] states that he anchored in Fairhaven harbor [Honolulu] November 21, 1794, with the *Jackal,* under his own command, and the *Prince Lee Boo,* under Captain Gordon.

Of the tragical events of the next six weeks, centering about the death of Captains Kendrick, Brown and Gordon, I have before me no less than six accounts which give internal evidence of having been independently written. These are: (1) the journal of John Boit,[24] who received his information from John Young at the island of Hawaii in October, 1795; (2) an extract from the manuscript work of Rev. S. Greatheed,[25] who describes

[21] Vancouver, *op. cit.,* V, 354-355; *New Vancouver Journal* (MS), *loc. cit.* Boit, therefore, is clearly in error in stating "that in Febuary, 1794, Capt. Brown anchor'd in Fairhaven harbour, Isle of Whoahoo, with two Sloops. . . ." John Boit, Jr., *Journal of a Voyage Round the Globe* (MS), entry for Oct. 16, 1795. A photostat copy of the Hawaiian portion of this journal is in the very valuable library of Hawaiiana collected by former Governor George R. Carter and now, through the gift of Mr. Carter, the property of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu.

[22] Vancouver, *op. cit.,* VI, 91.

[23] Rev. S. Greatheed, manuscript work on the Sandwich Islands, quoted in the Honolulu *Friend,* June, 1862. In the *Friend* it is stated that this work "was probably written about the commencement of the present [19th] century, as the latest date mentioned in it is 1796. [The author] was a founder and one of the most active members of the 'London Missionary Society,' and Editor of the Eclectic Review. We infer, from remarks in the work, that it was written for the purpose of proving the feasibility of establishing a Mission at our Islands. He appears to have consulted, in addition to published voyages, several persons who had visited our Islands, and consequently furnishes original information."

[24] *Supra,* note 21.

[25] *Supra,* note 23.

these events from information received from Captain Barber, who was wrecked near Honolulu in October, 1796, and had much opportunity of talking with John Young and others, and possibly also from persons who were on the *Jackal* and *Prince Lee Boo;* (3) a short statement by Broughton,[26] based seemingly on information which he obtained during his visit to Oahu in 1796, useful chiefly as corroborative evidence; (4) an account given by Jarves[27] which is, however, too brief to be of much service. Jarves gives Captain Gordon's name as "Gardner" and this error has been followed by some other writers; (5) and (6) the accounts by Dibble[28] and Kamakau[29] which are based chiefly upon native sources. All other accounts that I have seen are based on one or more of the six here mentioned and may, for the present purpose, be disregarded. The data presented by these writers are rather confused and, on some points, very conflicting, but it is nevertheless possible to disentangle most of the facts and to make out clearly the general course of events.

In order to understand what follows it will be necessary to revert once more to the political situation in the islands. Since Captain Brown's last visit important changes had occurred. The powerful king Kahekili had died, leaving his possessions divided, by previous arrangement, between his brother and his son. The son, Kalanikupule, was king of Oahu, while the brother, Kaeokulani (or Kaeo, as he is more frequently called), ruled over Maui and Kauai.[30] Kaeo, who was residing on Maui, decided to return to Kauai. On the way he stopped with a considerable force on the northeast coast of Oahu,

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[26] W. R. Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery* . . (London, 1804), 39-40.

[27] J. J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands* (Boston, 1843), 179-180.

[28] Sheldon Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands* (Lahainaluna, 1843), 68-71.

[29] S. M. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I," Chapter 29, in the Honolulu *Nupepa Kuokoa,* June 1, 1867.

[30] This may not be technically correct, but it represents the realities at the moment.

across the mountains from Waikiki, the capitol of the island. Some fighting took place between his followers and those of Kalanikupule, but this trouble was settled by a personal conference between the two chiefs, and Kaeo continued on around the island to Waianae, the usual point of departure for Kauai. While resting here Kaeo learned of a plot among his warriors directed against himself. In this emergency he resorted to a measure not infrequently used by more civilized generals. He proposed an immediate attack on Kalanikupule and the conquest of Oahu. The plot collapsed and his followers rallied about him with enthusiasm, augmented in numbers by several bands of disaffected Oahuans. The advance toward Waikiki was begun at once and within a few days the two armies were in contact west of Honolulu. From the various accounts it appears that besides almost continuous skirmishing, there were two engagements that might be called pitched battles, the whole campaign extending over a period of perhaps two or three weeks and ending December 12. Kalanikupule was defeated in the first of the two general engagements but was victorious in the second, in which also Kaeo was slain.

It was at the beginning of this campaign—a critical moment in the fortunes of Kalanikupule—that Captain Brown brought his two vessels into the harbor of Fairhaven. His coming must have seemed to the harassed king like a gift from the gods, for he immediately applied to Captain Brown for assistance in the struggle with Kaeo. His overtures met with a favorable response and it is clear that some kind of an agreement was made between the two. Just what the terms of this agreement were it is not so easy to determine. About the only things that we can be quite sure of are that Brown agreed to furnish some assistance to the king and that Kalanikupule agreed to pay something for this service. Kamakau, who alone gives any details on this point, states that Kalanikupule arranged to secure the aid of Captain Brown "for

the price of four hundred hogs." Boit states that while Captain Brown was in the harbor "the Chiefs of Whoahoo made him a formal present of the Island with all its contents, of which he accordingly took possession," but it is evident that Boit is here speaking somewhat loosely. It is true that the Hawaiians were very generous, as they still are, in their hospitality, but it is also true that the chiefs did not give away whole islands without receiving some valuable consideration in exchange. Boit fails to show what the consideration was in this case. In fact he makes it appear that there was no consideration at all, for he does not indicate that either Brown or his men took any part in the war. But all our other authorities concur in saying that Brown furnished assistance to Kalanikupule, although they do not agree at all points as to the form that the assistance took. This assistance doubtless was the consideration for the "formal present of the Island with all its contents" or for the four hundred hogs, as the case may have been. From this it is clear that Boit has left something out. Greatheed makes a statement which confirms Boit in some particulars and supplies a missing link in the latter's account. It will be remembered that Boit received his information from John Young. Greatheed says:

> Capt. Barber, who was wrecked at Woahu [in October, 1796], understood from John Young, that Capt. Brown had prevailed upon the natives to surrender the Island to him, and to supply him a long time with provisions, with flattering promises, none of which being fulfilled, the Islanders determined to seize the ships by way of indemnity.[31]

[31] The problem presented by the alleged surrender of the island to Brown is well-nigh insoluble. It will be seen that Boit reports an outright "formal present," while Greatheed speaks of a "surrender" in consideration of certain promises. Kamakau, as will presently be shown, makes a statement which may possibly mean that Brown demanded the surrender of the island, the demand being refused by Kalanikupule, but Kamakau places this after the battle rather than before. One is also led to wonder whether this "present" or "surrender," if it occurred, had any relation to the gift of the islands of Oahu and Kauai reported to have

The latter part of this statement has to do with events which will be referred to later. We do not know what Captain Brown's "flattering promises" were which failed of fulfillment, but from Mr. Greatheed's account it is made to appear that Brown gave very substantial aid to Kalanikupule in the present emergency.

Some details in reference to the fighting have been preserved. It is probable that in the early stages of the campaign Captain Brown furnished only guns and ammunition, but as the forces of Kaeo came nearer the harbor and threatened,

> if they prevailed, to attack the ships, Capt. B. consulted his people, and Mr. Geo. Lamport, mate of the *Jackall*, with eight others, agreed to join Taetere's [Kalanikupule's] forces, to repulse the enemy. In the first engagement the natives deserted them, and one of the English was killed, and the rest narrowly escaped to the canoes. Several actions afterwards took place, but on the 12th December they obtained a complete victory, with great slaughter, and returned the 13th, after six days absence from the ships.[32]

Kamakau gives the arrangement of the armies in the final battle, and says that Captain Brown and his men were in boats along the shore. They thus occupied the left wing of Kalanikupule's line of battle and were able to throw a flanking fire into Kaeo's army. The same authority says that the fighting was very severe, and that Kaeo would have escaped had not his brilliant *ahuula* (red feather cloak) given him away.

In the meantime, while the campaign was in progress, another vessel, the American brig *Lady Washington*, in command of Captain John Kendrick, came into the harbor of Fairhaven and cast anchor near the two English

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been made by Kahekili to Captain Brown the preceding year. Whatever the transaction was, it is entirely probable that it meant one thing to Brown and quite a different thing to the Hawaiian chief. This will be clear to anyone who has studied the discussions evoked by Kamehameha's cession of the island of Hawaii to England through Vancouver.

[32] Greatheed.

ships.[33] Only two of our authorities, Boit and Dibble, make any reference to Kendrick and his brig and they are quite contradictory. Dibble says "Captain Brown interested himself in the war, but Captain Kendrick took no part in it." Boit on the other hand says that "a battle was fought & was gain'd by the King of Whahooa, by the assistance of Capt. Kendrick." It is quite impossible to reconcile the two statements and it is therefore necessary to accept one and reject the other or to leave the question unsettled. Although on the whole the weight of evidence seems to be against Kendrick's participation in the fighting, it will perhaps be best not to dogmatize on the subject. The question is of no importance for this study except as it bears on the history of Captain Brown.

After the victory of Kalanikupule, a victory won by the aid of Captain Brown and possibly also by the aid of Captain Kendrick, a salute was fired from the ships in the harbor. One of the saluting guns on the *Jackal* was, through an oversight, loaded with round and grape shot, and this shot passed through the *Lady Washington*, killing Captain Kendrick and several of his crew.[34] The body of Kendrick was taken on shore for burial and the natives, who had never seen anything of the kind before, thought the prayer and burial service were "an act of sorcery to procure the death of Captain Brown."[35] Shortly after this the *Lady Washington* sailed for Canton.

The *Jackal* and the *Prince Lee Boo* remained in the harbor and for a time the relations between the Englishmen and the Hawaiians seemed to be as friendly as ever. But toward the end of December a plot was formed among the natives for the seizure of the two vessels. As to the cause of this plot our authorities do not agree.

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[33] Boit gives the date as Dec. 3.

[34] This is according to Boit, who is supported on this point by Amasa Delano, *Narrative of Voyages and Travels* (Boston, 1817), 400. Delano was a personal friend of Kendrick. Dibble says Kendrick was killed "by a wad, as is supposed, from one of the guns."

[35] Dibble. "Praying to death" was a common practice among the Hawaiians.

One possible reason is suggested in the statement already quoted from Greatheed, that Brown, in consideration of the surrender of the island and the furnishing of supplies to him, had made flattering promises, "none of which being fulfilled, the Islanders determined to seize the ships by way of indemnity." Kamakau says that after the final battle

> Captain Brown urged upon Kalanikupule, that the government of Oahu pay them for the assistance rendered in the war against Kaeo. Kalanikupule replied that he was willing to give him the number of hogs first promised, four hundred, but no more. Captain Brown insisted that more pay should be given, but again Kalanikupule said that he was willing to live up to his first agreement. Because of this the chiefs conspired to kill Captain Brown and his men.[36]

About all we can with certainty make out of these statements is that after the battle some misunderstanding or disagreement arose between Captain Brown and the natives and that this caused the latter to plan the fearful deed that followed. It must not be supposed, however, that this was the only reason for the tragedy. Other motives were natural cupidity in the presence of an easily obtained prize, and the primitive instincts which were by this time held in check, on the island of Hawaii, by the strong hand of Kamehameha.

One gets from the several accounts a suggestion that Kalanikupule at first placed his veto upon the treacherous plan proposed by his chiefs but was at length induced to give his consent.[37] On the first day of January, 1795, the plan was put into execution. A large number of hogs having been brought to the shore for the ships, the

[36] The original Hawaiian of this passage seems to be somewhat ambiguous, and may mean that Captain Brown demanded that the island of Oahu should be given to him as payment for his services. But Mr. John H. Wise, an Hawaiian scholar of recognized standing, whose translation I am following, while admitting the possibility of this construction, does not think that Kamakau intended to convey that meaning.

[37] This is stated directly by Dibble.

English sailors were employed on the beach salting the pork and preparing it for shipment. Several of the crew with an officer had been sent for salt to a place some distance away. The Englishmen being thus scattered and the vessels almost deserted, except for the two captains, who remained on board,

> a large double Canoe, full of men, rang'd up along side the Prince Laboo, & struck her small boat, that lay along side, & somewhat damag'd her upon which Capt. Gordon run to ye gangway to blame them for it, & the Indian on board taken that advantage pitchd him overboard, & there they immediatly dispatchd him. they directly repair'd along side the Jack'all, where Capt. Brown was walking the poop, by himself, when one of ye Savages gets up on the poop, & made a pass at the Good old Captain with an Iron dagger, which he fend'd of, & seized a Swivell worm & drove the fellow of, he was soon follow'd by a number more, which the Captain likewise beat of, but at last he was overpower'd by numbers & receiv'd a fatal stab in the back of the neck & was pitch'd from the poop on to the main deck where he soon expir'd, & so by there savage artfulness they got possession of both vessells, without the loss of a man on there side, in the meantime they had seiz'd the Boats & People that where on shore.[38]

Greatheed, whose account, while less detailed than Boit's graphic narrative, agrees with it in the main, adds that when Mr. Lamport, the officer who had been sent for salt,

> arrived at the place appointed, his boat was attacked and himself and the crew knocked down and cruelly treated by the mob, till they gave up resistance. They were then led captive to a hut about a mile distant, where they learned the murder of their captains, and other events. They were stripped, and remained one hour and a half in expectation of death, till they were freed from it by an order which Taetere [Kalanikupule] sent

[38] Boit.

> to spare them and conduct them to the village of Honununo [Honolulu], where the ships laid. There they found Capt. B.'s body stripped and tied by the hands and feet to a pole.

Being in possession of the two ships, with a large quantity of arms and ammunition, Kalanikupule and his advisers conceived this to be an opportune moment for striking a decisive blow at Kamehameha. The surviving members of the crews were compelled, under guard, to fit the vessels for sea, and when all was ready the king and his chiefs went on board and the ships were warped out of Fairhaven harbor and anchored in Waikiki bay. The next day Mr. Bonallack, mate of the *Prince Lee Boo,* and Mr. Lamport, mate of the *Jackal,* agreed upon a plan for retaking the vessels that night. It was a desperate venture but the attempt was entirely successful, the natives on board being killed or driven off, with the exception of the king, queen, and three or four of their personal attendants. The ships immediately put to sea, but at daybreak they again came near the shore and, after placing the king and queen in a canoe with one attendant, made all sail for the island of Hawaii, and from there, after procuring supplies, took their departure for Canton.

The account just given is according to Greatheed, with whom Boit is in substantial agreement. The Hawaiian accounts, as given by Kamakau and Dibble, relate the matter somewhat differently. These state that as soon as the two ships were out of the harbor they set sail at once for Hawaii. The natives, however, became very seasick. Dibble says that the foreigners covered the rigging with oil that was extremely offensive, thus adding to the sickness of the natives. Kamakau quotes one of the chiefs as saying to the king that the people became sick because the foreigners had stink pots all over the vessels. On account of this sickness the ships returned to Waikiki and the natives all went ashore, with the exception of the king, queen, and a few of their servants.

The same night, according to Kamakau, the ships sailed away for the island of Hawaii after leaving the king and queen in a canoe off shore. They told Kamehameha what had happened, "even handing over to him the stock of arms of the government of Oahu." Dibble, however, says they set sail the next day, the native warriors being in a fleet of canoes. "The foreigners, instead of sailing for Hawaii, stood directly out into the open ocean, sent Kalanikupule ashore at Waikiki and took a final leave of the islands. It is said, they touched at Hawaii and delivered the arms and ammunition to Kamehameha."

Kamakau concludes his account of these events with the following observation: "The government of Hawaii owes these men a debt of gratitude, for taking away all of the arms of Kalanikupule. If these arms had not been taken away by these ships from Kalanikupule it would be hard to say whether the whole of the governments of Hawaii would have come under the control of Kamehameha." Within less than five months after the death of Captain Brown, Kamehameha over-ran Maui and Molokai, defeated Kalanikupule in the great battle of Nuuanu, and became ruler of all the islands except Kauai.

The account which I have here given of Captain Brown and his activities at the Hawaiian Islands has left untouched certain questions which will at once suggest themselves to those familiar with the history of that epoch. Brown is customarily said to have done three things: (1) discovered Honolulu harbor; (2) brought into that harbor the first sailing vessel to enter it; (3) given to the harbor the name "Fairhaven," by which title it was known to the fur traders. The primary evidence on all of these points is contained in the various authorities cited in the course of this paper. The direct evidence can be summed up very briefly. Jarves, Broughton, and Greatheed say that Brown was the discoverer of the harbor. Dibble and Jarves say that the *Jackal,* one of Brown's ships, was the first vessel to enter the harbor.

Jarves and Greatheed say that Brown gave the harbor its name "Fairhaven."

Mr. Cartwright, as previously noted, has shown that Brown was not the original discoverer of Honolulu harbor, and he has done this by the simple process of showing that someone else had already discovered it several years before Brown came to the Hawaiian Islands. A similar line of reasoning can be applied to the statement that Brown brought the first sailing vessel into the harbor. Menzies,[39] writing under date of March 23, 1793, is authority for the statement that while on the Northwest coast Vancouver had been informed by the masters of some of the trading vessels that there was a small snug harbor in this vicinity. This plainly indicates, though it does not prove absolutely, that some of these trading vessels had actually entered the harbor. If so, they must have done this during the winter of 1791-2 or earlier. Vancouver left the American coast in January, 1793,[40] and therefore received this information during the summer or fall of 1792. If our account of Brown's activities is correct, his first visit to the Hawaiian Islands was made in February, 1793, and it is therefore highly probable that he was not the first trader to bring a ship into Honolulu harbor. As to the third claim made for Captain Brown, there seems at present no sound reason for denying that he gave to the harbor the name "Fairhaven," although this claim rests on the same foundation as the other two.

[39] *Op. cit.*, 126.
[40] Vancouver, *op. cit.*, III, 169.

LETTERS RELATING TO THE SECOND VOYAGE OF THE COLUMBIA

The *Columbia*, the first ship to carry the Stars and Stripes around the world, returned to Boston, under the command of Captain Robert Gray, on 10th August 1790. She sailed again, after being thoroughly overhauled and refitted, on 28th September 1790, though it was 1st October before she actually left Massachusetts Bay. A memorandum included in the Barrell Letters, in the Archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, shows that the venture was divided into fourteen shares, which were distributed and owned as follows: Samuel Brown, three shares; Thomas Bulfinch, two shares; Crowell Hatch, two shares; R. Gray, Davenport, and McLean, two shares; Joseph Barrell, five shares. Thus it would appear that the interests of John Derby and J. M. Pintard, who had held shares in the first voyage, had been acquired by Captain Gray and two friends. The cargo was valued at £1519 10s; the total investment represented £6254. Another somewhat illegible memorandum gives the names of the officers and crew, which, as nearly as I could decipher it, are as follows: Robert Gray, commander; Robert Haswell, chief mate; Joshua Caswell, second mate; Owen Smith, third mate; Abraham Montes (Waters ?), fourth mate; John Boit, fifth mate; John Hoskins, clerk; Samuel Homer and Jack Atooi, cabin boys; Benjamin Harden, boatswain; Samuel Yendell, carpenter; Nathan Duneley, carpenter's mate; John Emes, blacksmith; ——Popkins, armorer; Bart Peas, cooper; Tom, ship's cook; George Davidson, painter; ——Nickels, tailor; Joseph Barnes, John Butler, Bryant Muile (?), Antony Lowes, Joseph Folger, Andrew Newhill, ——Ellsworth, and ——Weeks, seamen; Obadiah Weston, sailmaker; and Nathaniel Woodward, Isaac, ——Ginnings, and ——Shepherd, green hands. Jack Atooi is the so-called "Hawaiian Prince," though here rated as a cabin boy; the second mate, Caswell, and the

seamen, Barnes and Folger, were killed by the Indians at Massacre Cove, in Tongass Narrows, Alaska, as mentioned in the letters hereto attached and in Boit's Journal. Benjamin Harden, the boatswain, died at Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island, in March 1792.

The authorities for this voyage are: Boit's Journal, which covers the whole period; Hoskins' Narrative, dealing with the events from the departure from Boston until the beginning of the cruise of 1792; Haswell's Second Log, which opens on 13th August 1791 and closes when the ship leaves the coast; and the fragment of the official log dealing with the discovery of the Columbia River. The first and the last of these sources have been published; a précis of Haswell's Second Log is appended to Bancroft's *Northwest Coast;* but the complete Haswell and Hoskins both remain in manuscript. It is to be hoped that in the near future they will be given to the world.

The letters which are herewith reproduced are taken from the Barrell Letters, already mentioned. They are very largely self-explanatory. It has been thought unnecessary to add anything but a few notes in reference to some of the persons and places. These letters will form, to a certain extent, a companion piece to the Boit Journal which appeared in this *Quarterly* in December 1921. The long, fault-finding letter, dated 21st August 1792, from Hoskins to Barrell, is, after much consideration, inserted in full. In the future, if and when the Hoskins Narrative is published, this letter will be found useful to the student who wishes to appraise accurately some of the statements which that narrative contains.

The extract from Menzies' Journal is appended because of its connection with the *Columbia,* then southward bound on the voyage during which she entered the Columbia River. Archibald Menzies, the author of the journal, had been on the coast in 1787-1788 on the *Prince of Wales,* commanded by Captain Colnett. In 1791 he joined H. M. S. *Discovery,* Captain George Vancouver, as

botanist. While at Nootka the surgeon, Dr. Cranstoun, was invalided home, and Menzies, who was a surgeon by profession, was appointed by Vancouver in September 1792 to succeed him. A copy of his journal is in the Archives of British Columbia. I am indebted to Mr. John Forsyth, the Provincial Archivist, for his kind permission to publish this extract. The portion of Menzies' Journal, from the arrival of the *Discovery* on the Oregon coast until her departure from Nootka in the fall of 1792, will shortly appear as a Memoir of the British Columbia Archives Department. We shall then have three complete accounts of that part of Vancouver's voyage, viz.: Vancouver's own version as set out in his *Voyage;* the *New Vancouver Journal,* published in Vols. V and VI of the *Washington Historical Quarterly;* and Menzies' *Journal.*

F. W. Howay

On board Ship Columbia
Nantasket Road Thursday 30th Sept
1790.

Sir:

No doubt you will be surprised to hear from me at this place but I suppos'd you would be glad to hear the ship was safe. When I inform'd you by the Pilot we had a free wind & should go to Sea as fast as possible. All that day & the next day we sail'd with the winds variable from ESE to E in hopes to get clear of the Land before the gale but in the night we were becalm'd & in the morning the wind sprang up briskly from the NE & blew a heavy gale. We were then of Truro in Cape Cod. It was then thought best for the safety of the Ship to run into Cape Cod which we did & came to Anchor about 7 o'Clock at night in Barnstable Bay. As we then lay 'twas impossible to put to Sea should the wind come fair. It was again thought best to weigh anchor & stand out of the Bay & should the wind come fair we could go to Sea

& should it not we could run for Boston. Accordingly about 9 o'Clock we weigh'd with a heavy gale all day from NE to SE & about 10 o'Clock at night we came to anchor in the Light house Channel. This morning we again weigh'd & run into this place were we are safe at anchor impatiently awaiting for a fair wind. All on Board are well & hearty. Capt Gray's best respects to you & the

[Thus ends the original.]

On board the Ship Columbia at Sea in Latitude 50° No. Longitude 24° West November 13th 1790

Sir

We sail'd from Nantasket road the morning after we left you with a fair wind. Mr. Woodward did not arrive before we sail'd and we thought it not worth while to wait for him, consequently we did not get the beans & other things you sent. Capt Gray wishes you Sir to call at the Custom House for the Ship Columbia's *Grand Chop*[1] or China clearance which he left there when he enter'd the Ship (Capt Magee[2] or Mr Perkins[3] can tell it) and send it out to Canton by the first good safe hand as he expects should he go to Canton to save at least half the duties by having it. We are all pretty well the Gentlemen join us in best respects to you & the owners.

We are y^{r} most h^{bl} s^{t}

Robert Gray
John Hoskins

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[1] The original meaning of "chop" is a stamp or seal; hence its secondary meaning: a clearance or pass bearing the seal of the officer by whom it was issued. The Grand Chop or Red Chop was the port clearance. All vessels complained of these whimsical Chinese restrictions; see Capt. Cook's Third Voyage (Dublin ed. 1784) Vol. 3, p. 427 *et seq.*; Marchand's Voyage (London, 1801), Vol. 2, p. 96 *et seq.*

[2] Of the ship *Margaret* of Boston, which was on the coast in 1792.

[3] Thomas Handasyd Perkins of Boston, member of the great Chinese house of Perkins & Co.

The next letter is an exact duplicate of the above, except that it bears only the signature of Robert Gray. It was evidently enclosed in the following letter.

On board Ship Columbia at Sea
November 14 1790

Sir

The foregoing is a copy of what we wrote you yesterday by a Portuguese Ship bound to the Coast of Brazil.[4] We avail'd ourselves of the first opportunity not knowing when we should have another, but well convinc'd it would be a long time before you receiv'd it yet we thought that news from us though a long time coming would be agreeable to you & the owners & the necessity of our having the *Grand Chop* to save duties at China

We are with all respect

Robert Gray
John Hoskins[5]

Ship Columbia of Cape Percival
Falkland Islands Feb^{y} 2^{d} 1791

Sir

We this day came out of New Island Harbour[6] where we arrived 10 days since, after a long tedious passage of 113 days. We have been wind bound four days, all hearty & well on board—we still hope to get safe round Cape Horn & be early on the Coast; depend on it every thing will be done to give us as short a passage as possible

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[4] Hoskins says: "The boat was sent on board with a letter which the Portuguese Captain was polite enough to say he would forward by the earliest conveyance."

[5] This letter was sent by Capt. Butler of the *Aurora* of Bristol, a whaler then bound around Cape Horn. See Hoskins' Narrative MS.

[6] This was on one of the small islands lying to the westward of the main Falkland Islands. The *Columbia* anchored here on 23d January 1791. Hoskins' Narrative gives a lengthy account of the occurrences there. See also, Boit's Journal in xxii *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, p. 271. Cape Percival is the westernmost point of the group; see a map in *Cook's First Voyage*, by Hawkesworth (London, 1773), p. 40.

We have already wrote you by two opportunitys, the one via Lisbon the other Bristol, requesting you to send the Ship Columbia's Grand Chop to Canton, as soon as possible, because it will be a saving of a great part of the duties, which are very high there.—

The Gentlemen Officers are well & desire there best respects to you & the other Gentlemen, with whom join, Sir, your & their most devoted

and much obliged
humble Servants
Robert Gray
John Hoskins

Sir: will you be so good as to let
my mother know I am hearty & well !
Yrs J. Hoskins

Joseph Barrell Esq[r].

Ship Columbia N W Coast of America
Lattitude 55° 0′ North
15 August 1791

Sir

We arrived safe on this Coast the 4th June last. We have done every thing that was possible for the Concern'd. This night at 12 o'Clock we spoke the Brig Hancock Capt Crowell from Boston and were much disappointed at receiving no letters from you.[7] Mr Hatch the chief mate has promis'd to deliver this. We three days ago met with an unfortunate accident, our second mate Joshua Caswell of Malden, and two of our seamen were massacreed by the natives of this place (the seamen's names were Jo. Burns & John Folger) at a short distance from the Ship in the Jolly boat.[8] We got the boat and the body of Mr

[7] See Boit's Journal in xxii *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, p. 286. In his Narrative Hoskins also records his disappointment, especially as the *Hancock* had sailed from Boston a month or six weeks later than the *Columbia*.

[8] The details of this massacre are to be found in Boit's Journal in volume xxii of this *Quarterly*, pp. 284-5.

Caswell which we decently interr'd.—Capt Ingraham[9] has arriv'd safe on the Coast, about the same time we did. The Officers requests their particular respects to you & the Gentlemen of the Concern'd

We are Sir with all respects
Yours most hbl Servts
Robert Gray
John Hoskins

P, S. Sir, you'l please to let my mama know that I am well. Mr. Boit also requests you'l let his parent know he is in health.

Joseph Barrell Esqr.

Ship Columbia Washington's Islands
Latitude 53°5′ North, 22d August 1791

Sir

We wrote you a few days since by Capt Adamson,[10] and now embrace this by Capt Ingraham. We arrived safe on this Coast about three months ago, and have done every thing possible for the concern'd. In the Latitude of 55°30′ north we were so unfortunate as to loose our second mate Joshua Caswell & two of our men, who were massacreed by the natives. As yet we have not built the Sloop,[11] nor do we intend it 'till we go into winter quarters; we expect to start early with her in the spring and will endeavour to shorten our voyage as much as possible. Depend nothing will be wanting on our part to do every thing in our power for the concern'd—the Gentlemen requests their respects to you & the Gentlemen of the concern'd—with whom join your & their

[9] The master of the *Hope* of Boston, which sailed on 16th September 1790 and reached Queen Charlotte Islands on 29th June 1791.

[10] Adamson was in charge of the tender to the *Hancock*. Hoskins in his Narrative says: "It was with the greatest pleasure I embraced this opportunity to write to Mr. Barrell our principal owner."

[11] The *Adventure* built at Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island, and launched the 22d February 1792. See the next letter, and also Boit's Journal in this *Quarterly*, Vol. xxii, pp. 292, 294, 301, 302.

Most obliged & very H^bl S^t

Robert Gray
John Hoskins

Please to inform my mama
I am well.— Yrs, J.H.
Joseph Barrell Esq^r.

Ship Columbia Woody point
July 12th 1792

Sir

We wrote you by the several opportunities which presented the last season—since which we have built the Sloop and called her the Adventure, in which Capt Haswell[12] is now on a Cruise to the northward.

we received your Letters P. Capt Magee, the contents we note and shall follow your instructions.

our Cargo is nearly expended, and though not as good a rate as we could wish, yet we hope at least to make a saving voyage: skins being a hundred P Cent dearer this season than they were the last, besides we have very discouraging accounts from Canton.

the natives from the arms & ammunition they have received, have become expert marksmen and exceedingly troublesome—there are as many vessels on the Coast this season, as there were the last.

All well on board, this spring we buried our Boatswain[13] who was the only sick man we had.

Our officers beg their best respects to you and the

[12] Robert Haswell, the author of the two manuscript logs covering parts of the first and second voyages of the *Columbia*. On the first voyage he sailed as third mate of the *Columbia*, became second mate at the Cape Verd Islands, transferred to a similar position on the *Washington* at the Falkland Islands, and when Gray and Kendrick exchanged commands at Clayoquot Sound in July 1789, returned with the former to the *Columbia* and sailed in her to China and thence to Boston; he re-shipped with Capt. Gray on the second voyage as first mate. He now takes command of the *Adventure* until she is sold to the Spaniards. His second log gives an account of (inter alia) his work on her.

[13] Benjamin Harden. See Boit's Journal in this *Quarterly*, Vol. xxii, p. 301, and note thereto.

Owners in which they are most sincerely join'd by your & their most obliged and most devoted Servants

John Hoskins
for self and
Robert Gray

h r k k—Sea otters
y k k k—Land furs
Joseph Barrell Esq^{r}.

The next letter in the series is identical with the above down to the word "troublesome" in the fourth paragraph, except that it is dated from Naspautee.[14] It carries the endorsement "Original P. Capt James Magee."

St. Lorenzo Nootka Sound
Aug^{t} 21 1792.

Sir

No doubt you will be surprised, at hearing of us from this place, when your orders so positively forbad going to any Spanish port, but in case of distress, w^{h} I am sorry to say, is the cause of our putting in here. On the 27th of June last, in Latitude 52°30′N^{o}. Longitude 130°36′ West the Ship struck on a rock,[15] which made her leak so much, as to keep one pump a going; in this situation we made a harbour near to Woody point, where the ship was haul'd ashore; there was a considerable sheathing knock'd of the starboard bilge, and the plank broke through in two places; the lower part of the stem & forward part of the keel were shatter'd to pieces. The Carpenter inform'd he could do nothing with the stem & keel, until the Ship was unloaded & laid on blocks; that he must take the damaged parts out & put in new. The Carpenter repaired the bilge, spik'd the shatter'd stem together, sheath'd & caulk'd it over. This being done we sail'd for

[14] Nesparte Inlet, in which was situate Columbia's Cove on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

[15] See further as regards this accident the Boit Journal in this *Quarterly*, Vol. xxii, p. 319, and note thereon.

this place, where we arrived the 23d of July, and reported our situation to the Spanish Governor, who very politely offer'd us every assistance. He has lent us store houses for our Goods, granted the second best house in his small Town, for Capt Gray and myself to lodge & do our business in; and insists on our eating & drinking with him, at his house; where we live most sumptiously.

We are happy to inform you the Ship is now thoroughly repaired, reloaded & fit for Sea. Tomorrow we shall sail for port Montgomery,[16] where we expect to meet Mr Haswell in the Sloop. We expect to leave the Coast in about a month, and shall try what can be done at Japan & the northern Coast of China.

We have nothing more to add at present than we are your much obliged & most obedient humble Servts

Robert Gray
John Hoskins

Capt Ingraham requests
you would inform his Owners
that he has been in this port &
are all well.
will you be so good as to inform
my mother I am well—
h r k k. S.O.

St Lorenzo, Nootka Sound
Augst 21st, 1792.

Esteemed Sir:—

Capt. Gray and myself have already wrote you by this conveyance, via New Spain; & as you are my friend and principal employer I take the liberty in my own name, of stating to you some of the particular transactions of our voyage, and principally what concerns myself.

Soon after our leaving Boston I found myself very disagreeably situated & unsupported by the man, who

[16] This port was somewhere on the west coast of Queen Charlotte Islands, but its exact location has not, as yet, been determined.

ought to have been my friend. he on the contrary held me in the most contemptable light, and introduc'd me to his officers as a spy upon his and their conduct, not only as it respected trade, but even to their domestic life; this station of mine was soon made known to the whole ship's company, and to every vessel we have spoke.—he and his officers have frequently convers'd together, on the method of treatment that was requisite for me. and I have reason to believe, if I had sign'd the articles, or you had not so fully mentioned me in your orders to him, I should have long before this day been before the mast, if not turn'd ashore; but as this was plac'd out of their power, the only method they had left was to treat me ill. this they have done very frequently and been countenanc'd for it by their Commander. I could recite many disagreeable sayings they have made use of at those times respecting yourself. but at present I'll forbear.

My books I have regularly kept, and will venture to say, you will find the accounts as fair, and as honest as my situation would admit.—when I first propos'd opening the books, which was not long after we got to sea; I was told the books was of no use nor myself neither, for that it was impossible for me to keep any account of the disposal of the Cargo. I insisted it was possible & would if I could not keep a perfect account, keep the best that was possible and that I was convinc'd, on my return, that you would make every allowance, if everything had the appearance of fair play.—I open'd the books with a separate account of every article in the invoice; this I was told was not right that I knew not how to keep books; I told them this was the way all merchants kept them. that you also kept them in the same way. the answer was damn Jo Barrell he does not know how to keep books or any thing else, except his damn mean ways, of setting his damn clerks to overlook people and the like. I then requested to be shown the right method of keeping books; but no one knowing, I went on my old way. yet every

time I open any books I receive similar treatment and yet these same people are so illiterate as scarce to know a book when they see it.

Since we have been on the Coast, we have cruiz'd various parts of it, (but give me leave to say I knew as much of the Coast, when we first arriv'd as did the Commander of your Ship) but my treatment has not been alter'd.—I have reason to think notwithstanding I keep a good lookout, there is some unfair play and which if possible I will endeavor to discover. least I should be mistaken in this, I'll give you some reasons. Capt. Gray brought out several old fashion woolen coats & other articles, which I have heard him declare, if he could get an opportunity he would sell and convert the proceeds to his own use. this by no means shows an honest principal in the Commander, he has also said should the Ship go to Boston, he would not send any property of his own in her. he would send it to New York.—Mr. Haswell I have heard from the Commander of another Ship, has said to his officers, that he would make *10,000 Dollars*, he would then go to England that the Owners might go to hell & his wages & p Centage with them. if these are the dashes that they are making no doubt we shall neat you small proffits.—You may possibly blame me for not preventing this, but if you will recollect the Captain of this Ship is a man of no principle, that he does not, nor has not since he left Boston, commanded his Ship, this I do not say of myself. his officers have told him so on his own quarter deck. though when I have at times spoken for the good of the concern, he has frequently told me I am master of the Ship and will do as I please, but really if he had have been, I should have been properly supported and treated both by him and his officers like a gentleman.

When you reflect on what small powers I am invested, and those principally in the Captains' orders and consider their ungenteel treatment of me, owing to their being jealous that I am a spy upon their conduct, and this pro-

ceeding from a dishonest principle, which they have so fatally imbib'd, that even their honour, the risk of the loss of all their property cannot eradicate, for I am sure when honour and honesty is made the rule of a man's conduct, he cares not for the damage ten thousand spies can do him. You must think my situation truly an unhappy one.—though I well know it is a delicate matter, to delegate powers to a young inexperienc'd man like myself, who has so many ill examples, so many temptations before him & who is to be for so great a length of time from the face of his employers, but Sir give me leave to say, it would have been better for me, not to have had any concern in this business; then I should not have lain open to the censorious world, for though I may be innocent, yet I may fall a sacrifice to the faults of others, or as I am concern'd that you had not have granted me more & fuller powers, or sent a man that knew how to command himself, then he would have known how to command his Ship and to shew his officers there places, with such a man I should have had authority enough.—Your letter p Capt. Magee directed to Capt. Gray & myself has rais'd me a little in their opinion. I could wish there was some person in Canton, who had your orders to take the Ship & Cargo out of the present hands, if there was I think it would be to your advantage.

You may from what I have said think I am a prejudiced, discontented boy; believe me Sir I am discontented and will not say I am altogether unprejudiced; which I who so well know your disposition, believe you would be equally so with a man who has not even the least principle of honour or honesty but appears to be divested of every virtue, and who is in grain if not openly a Knave and a Fool. let all I have said remain *entre nos* until my return, when to your and their faces I will retale every circumstance. I hope however you will take measures to prevent anything on your side of the water.

The last season we did not collect many skins, we went

into winter quarters the 20th of September, there built a House & set up the Sloop she was best part done, when the natives on the 18th of February came to attack us; she was then got ready to launch as soon as possible, otherways according to our customary delays I know not whether She would have been launch'd at this time. we sail'd together on the 2 d April the one to the Southward, the other to the Northward on board the Ship owing to their being no Commander we have run many risks both in sailing along shore and going into harbours, unknown, unsounded, and without a boat in the water; one of these harbours with the wind blowing on to the breakers, we ran down and over a bar, in three fathoms of water, were as good luck would have it we got over safe, and without sounding or a boat ahead we bear out of the same place & came over the bar again in three fathoms water. thus many are the dangers we have past and risks carelessly run.[17] At last however fortune refus'd any longer to smile and in blundering along. (for I can call it by no better name) without any lookout kept, within three miles of a most inhospitable & rocky shore, the Ship going six knots with a crowd of sail, struck a rock about four feet under water (this was the 25th of June) the Sloop in company. Mr. Haswell says he in the Sloop saw the rock break & haul'd from it. (the Ship was to follow him) the Ship however making but little water was immediately bore away for Derby's Sound, the night of the 26th it blew a fresh gale from the westward, the officers of the watches of both vessels raced to try which would carry sail longest & go fastest by the wind. previous to this Mr. Haswell was ordered to tack at 12 oClock it then being Mr. Smith[18] watch in the Ship. the Sloop went

[17] There is something wrong here; perhaps Hoskins' evident animus overbore his regard for accuracy. In the Boit Journal in this *Quarterly*, Vol. xxii, pp. 306 and 309, it is stated that in entering Gray's Harbor and the Columbia River Capt. Gray had a boat ahead.

[18] Owen Smith, who had sailed as third mate, but who was now in all probability, second mate, having doubtless been promoted when Joshua Caswell, the second mate, was murdered.

about at the time and tacking before the Ship nettl'd Mr. Smith a little, he being in the largest vessel thought he ought to tack first he therefore did not tack till nearly one oClock. by this time both vessels running different courses had got a considerable way apart, the Ship increas'd her leak considerably on this Tack, so as to keep both pumps going, we were then oblig' to bear away, part with the Sloop and run under the lee of Washington's Islands, where we fother'd the Ship; after this we bore away & went to Naspahtee in company with Capt. Magee, where we arrived the 5th of July, two days being past, the third the Ship was haul'd ashore with all in, on the Carpenters' examining her they found the lower part of the stem & forward part of the keel knock'd to pieces, this could not be repair'd without discharging the Ship and laying her on blocks; the Carpenters were ordered to spike it together & sheath it over; the sheathing on the starboard bilge being also a great deal of it gone & two holes knock'd thro the plank, this was also repair'd & on the 10th we put to sea to Clioquot were we arrived the 12th we again sailed from there & beat up to Nootka Sound, where we arriv'd the 21st in distress, after making our situation known to the Spanish Governor S^{r} Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. he offered us every assistance granted us houses for our goods & the second best house in his small village for Cap^{n} Gray and myself to lodge in & sends for us to breakfast, dine & sup at his house every day. this governor is really a gentleman, a friend, to all the human race, a father to the natives, who all love him & a good friend to the Americans in general.[19]

Capt. Kendrick when I saw him last season offered to give up to me (if I would pay his men's wages & a debt he had contracted in Macao of about 4,000 Dollars) his vessel & Cargo which was a thousand sea otter skins; I told

[19] The testimony of all the witnesses agrees in this view of Quadra. He seems to have constantly striven to show every kindness and do every honor to all visitors to Nootka, regardless of their rank or station. See hereon, Boit's Journal in this *Quarterly*, Vol. xxii, pp. 324-326.

him I had no authority to accept his offer or to demand any payment from him, nor did think any person in the Ship had. Capt Ingraham informs me that he left him at the point of Death in Macao about two months since.

We shall sail I hope tomorrow as our Ship is now repair'd & reloaded; though I must confess with not as much expedition as I expected.

My best respects to your amiable Lady & family, not forgetting Miss Webb and the good Doctor Bulfinch. & Sir will you be pleas'd to accept the same yourself from him who is in gratitude & duty bound to serve you & who hopes in twelve months to meet you in perfect health & happiness.

Your hble St
John Hoskins

Joseph Barrell Esq.

Ship Columbia, Straits of de Fuca
28 September 1792

Sir

The foregoing [*i. e.* presumably the short letter dated August 21,1792, ante p.140] is what we wrote at the time, since which we have been to port Montgomery where we found the Sloop, & in our passage of the Coast we stopt at this place, where yesterday arrived our good friend the Spanish Govr of Nootka; to whom we have sold the Sloop for 75 prime Sea Otter Skins, and she is now discharging; as she sails very dull,[20] is so small & we want the men, we thought it the best we could with her.

On account of our misfortune in the Ship, the season is so far advanc'd, that we remain undetermined at present about going to Japan; should the winds prove favorable we shall go, but if averse we shall make the best of our way to China; for to loose our season would ruin

[20] Boit's Journal says 72 sea otter skins. Though now stated to be a dull sailer, Haswell told Boit that she was an excellent sea boat and sailed very well; Haswell also makes two references in his second log to the good sailing qualities of the *Adventure*.

the voyage; we hope to get a good sale for our furrs and that every thing in the end will turn out to our honor & advantage.

We are Sir with every sentiment
of Respect & Esteem
Your most obliged
Humble Servts
Robert Gray
John Hoskins

Ship Columbia Wompoa
22 Decr. 1792

Sir

On the day of our arrival I wrote you by the Hannibal via Philadelphia. Since which I have been at Canton and as this day been delivering a part of the furrs which we sold.—Skins are very low & there is no selling them for Cash, indeed we could not get the ship secur'd unless we would agree to take goods in pay and 'tis absolutely necessary to have a security merchant[21] or nothing can be sold out of the ship nor is it safe to deal with any of the Chinese without. It is therefore out of our power to do with the money as you wish; could we get Cash for the skins we could either sell or freight the ship at a good rate.

The ship is so leaky we must have her ashore; this together with the detention will make our expences at this place great, however depend every thing shall be done that can be to make them as light as possible.

At this time 'tis impossible to say the amount our skins will fetch, but I don't expect they will exceed Forty

[21] No business could be carried on by a ship in China without a compradore, or security merchant. He seems to have been a sort of commission merchant securing to the government the duties on the cargo and the charges on the ship, securing to the Chinese who supplied the ship the payment of their accounts, and securing to the ship owner the payment for his furs. In the Log of the *Ruby* (manuscript in the Archives of British Columbia) will be found some details of the way this hampered the vessels in the Chinese trade. See also *Old Shipping Days in Boston* (Boston, 1918), pp. 10-24.

thousand dollars. This is a small price for our quantity of Furrs, but there are a great many at market and more expected. The very best skins at retail will not fetch more than thirty dollars and at wholesale from six to twenty five dollars.

We have not been at Japan, it being so late in the season and the ship so weak we dare not attempt it.—We expect to sail for Boston in about a month. Capt Gray is at Canton. The choppe boat in which are the furrs is now waiting for me and I must conclude in haste.

Your most obliged
and most devoted humⁱ Sᵗ
John Hoskins
for self and
Robert Gray

Capt Kendrick lays
in larksbay (where he
has been 14 months)
dismasted.[22]

EXTRACT FROM ARCHIBALD MENZIES' JOURNAL, Dated April 29-30, 1792

APRIL 29, 1792

At three next morning we both weighd anchor & made Sail along the coast to the Northward with a favorable breeze gradually increasing & soon after we saw a ship nearly a head of us a little way out from the Coast which on seeing us brought to & fird a gun to leeward, in passing we edgd a little down towards her & spoke the *Columbia* of Boston commanded by Mr. Gray—At the name of *Gray* it occurr'd to us that he might be the same who commanded the Sloop Washington at the time she is said to have performd that remarkable interior navigation on

[22] Captain Kendrick had sailed from Macao in the *Washington* in September 1792, but she had met a typhoon and been dismasted. See the full particulars in the Boit Journal in this *Quarterly*, Vol. xxii, p. 335.

this Coast which was so much the subject of polemic conversation in England before our departure.—We immediately brought to & sent a Boat to the Columbia in which I accompanied L^{t} Puget in order to obtain what information we could, & the reader may easily conceive the eagerness with which we interrogated the Commander when we found him to be the same man which our ideas had suggested, & indeed it may appear no less curious than interesting that here at the entrance of Juan de Fuca's Streights we should meet with the very man whose Voyage up it in the Sloop Washington as delineated by the fertile fancy of Mr Mears gave rise to so much theoretical speculation & chimerical discussion—I say interesting because it enables us to detect to the World a fallacy in this matter which no excuse can justify.

Mr Gray informd us that in his former Voyage he had gone up the Streights of Juan de Fuca in the Sloop Washington about 17 leagues in an East by South direction & finding he did not meet with encouragement as a Trader to pursue it further he returnd back & came out to Sea again the very same way he had enterd—he was therefore struck with astonishment when we informd him of the sweeping tract of several degrees which Mr Mears had given him credit for in his Chart & publication.

He further informd us that in his present Voyage he had been 9 months on the Coast & wintered at *Clioquat* a district a little to the Eastward of *Nootka* where he built a small sloop which was at this time employd in collecting Furs to the Northward about Queen Charlotte's Isles—That in the Winter the Natives of Clioquat calling to their aid 3 or 4 other Tribes collected to the number of upwards of three thousand to attack his Vessel, but their premeditated schemes being discovered to him by a Native of the Sandwich Islands he had on board whom the Chiefs had attempted to sway over to their diabolic plots in solliciting him to wet the locks & priming of the Musquets & Guns before they boarded. By this means he was for-

tunately enabled by timely precautions to frustrate their horrid stratagems at the very moment they had assembled to execute them.

He likewise told us that last year the Natives to the Northward of Queen Charlotte's Isles had murderd his Chief Mate & two Seamen while they were employd fishing in a small Boat a little distance from the Ship, & that the Natives of Queen Charlotte's Isles had surprizd an American Brig the Lady Washington commanded by Mr Kendrick & kept possession of her for upwards of two hours, when the united exertions of the Master & Crew happily liberated them from the impending destruction & made the Natives quit their prize in a precipitate flight in which a vast number of them lost their lives. On this occasion the Natives had watchd an opportunity to posess themselves of the arm chests on deck while open, by which stratagem they were able to arm themselves & disarm the Ship's company, but the latter rallying on them afterwards from below with what arms they could collect, renderd their vile scheme abortive.

As soon as the Boat was hoisted in we made sail & pursued our course along shore till about noon when we enterd the famous Streights of *Juan de Fuca.* The weather was at this so thick & hazy that we had no observation to determine our Latitude. . . . . The Columbia who bore up along shore & followd us into the Streights kept under way all night but there being little wind, & that chiefly against us we anchord a little before dark under the Southern Shore about three leagues from the Entrance.

APRIL 30th 1792.

Having now enterd on our interior examination of Juan de Fuca's Streights, we on the morning of the 30th of April both weighd Anchor & after making Sail steerd to the Eastward along the Southern Shore on a firm supposition that it was the Continental shore which we had

tracd thus far from a little to the Southward of Cape Mendocino. We were favord with a fine Westerly breeze which soon dispersd the Fog & brought with it fair & clear weather. In the forenoon as we went along Canoes came off to us here & there from the Shore with Sea Otter Skins for which they askd Copper or Cloth, but they were able to keep with us a very short time as we had a fair fresh breeze. The Columbia was seen again working out of the Streights, & it would now seem as if the Commander of her did not put much confidence in what we told him of our pursuit, but had probably taken us for rivals in trade and followd us into the Streights to have his share in the gleanings of those Villages at the entrance, & this is conformable to the general practice among traders on this Coast, which is always to mislead competitors as far as they can even at the expence of truth.

DIARY OF REVEREND GEORGE H. GARY.—II.

Notes by Charles Henry Carey

1844. July 20. I have drawn on the treasurer this day for $100 for an old draft by J. Lee to Dr. Babcock, dated Aug. 9, 1842, as a duplicate was wanted. None given originally. I took the old one; drew a new one, also same date for $500 more to pay Dr. Babcock in part his salary this year. This last draft, 30 days after sight, July 23, draft to pay for Mr. Lee's passage and discount on the bill from the Columbia River to Sandwich Islands last fall or winter, which had been advanced by Ladd & Co. for $215, ten days after sight. Another draft July 23, 1844 for Mr. Waller and family's passage from Columbia River to Sandwich Islands, $210, at ten days after sight. Also another draft for Mr. Waller to obtain passage from the Islands to the states for $700 at thirty days after sight. Bro. Waller also receives $100 specie from me to help himself at the Islands in case he should be detained there. Bro. Waller for himself and family has received as an outfit from our donation goods to the amount of perhaps nearly eighty dollars; these are given him as an outfit without being charged as salary or table expenses. We have to hurry him off with great haste in order to save this chance of sailing to the Islands. He will take a certificate from Mr. Abernethy, setting forth his due from the mission, which I suppose you will pay. The reason there is so much due him is he has sold sundry things and made them payable to Mr. Abernethy, and when paid, the avails are to go into the mission funds here, and he has enough unsold property to make these debts sure and abundantly good. His return home is sudden and we deem it proper to aid him all we consistently can; and feel ourselves perfectly safe in the arrangement. Though I have sold considerable property

here, yet in the state of affairs as here, we receive no money, but are in hopes money will circulate here more and more as business increases.

No. in society in this mission:

	Whites	Indian	Local Preachers
Williamette Settlement..	14	8	3
Williamette Falls	16		
Dalls	3	I am not certain but there may be some Indian members here.	
Clatsop	5		1 local preacher
	65	8	3

I have given all the information I can think of; only I will add that there are a number of worthy members of our church who have been converted here; some have gone to rest in Abraham's bosom; and I think our mission has done good; is doing good; and will do great good to this land. Continue, oh continue to remember us in your prayers in the best of bonds.

G. GARY.

Thursday, July 25. This day, Bro. Waller leaves this place for the states. He takes with him a certificate from Mr. Abernethy stating that there is $1500 due him from the mission, which will be presented to the treasurer and doubtlessly paid by him. I have been for about two weeks crowded with business; Mr. Waller's trial; preparing reports for the board at home, and the various concerns connected with these have taken up my time and attention very closely.

Friday, 26. Rest and quietude are in good season and very refreshing.

Saturday, 27. Today mostly spent in counsel with Mr. Barnet,[1] lawyer from the states, now an inhabitant of this territory, in reference to the papers necessary to pass on the subject of these sales and the securities to be

[1] Peter H. Burnett.

taken back so that our arrangements may be safe as possible in the present unsettled state of affairs in this region.

Sabbath. Attend service in this place (Falls). But few hearers.

Monday, 29. Today make an arrangement by which I give to the trustees of the Methodist society in this place $1500. They are to purchase and keep for a parsonage the house in which G. Hines now lives. This $1500 is to come out of Mr. Abernethy's purchase of old goods or such other things as he may purchase of the mission. The society here as a society is building a meeting house; by giving them this means to purchase a parsonage we save the rent which the mission would have to pay, and also save the liabilities of the mission as a mission for improvements and repairs.

Tuesday, July 30. Today ride on horse back to Doct. Babcock's. It is so long since I have rode on horse back, was very weary at night, after having rode forty miles without scarcely any stop.

Wednesday, 31. With Mr. Abernethy today taking an inventory of the goods left in the granary at the farm; some of them donation goods and some of them purchased goods; we are now examining all our goods with the object of selling to Mr. Abernethy. Toward evening, go to the mission school.

[1844] August 1. Today very busy in taking an inventory of the goods and various other things such as mechanics and farming tools connected with and belonging to the Indian manual labor school.

Friday, 2. Continue in the examination of these goods and tools; find many of the carpenter's and . . . tools missing and many damaged; sell what are on hand, including good and damaged, to Mr. Campbell, at 80 per cent advance on the purchase bills. The donation goods, consisting mostly of made up garments are a poor lot. Many of them were much worn before they were sent and

were not worth the freight from New York to this place; these garments are mostly small, adapted to children from fifteen years and under. I suppose, however, the best goods have been used and this lot is made up of what is left of each and every parcel sent out heretofore. These donation goods are sold to G. Abernethy at 50 per cent discount.

Saturday, 3. Return to the Falls.

Sabbath, 4. Preach today at the Falls. About 30 hearers. Though our congregation is small, our meetings today are good.

Monday, 5. Today I receive a letter from Br. Perkins,[2] in which he informs me he declares off from the mission, and considers himself no longer connected with the mission. Now how to provide for the station at the Dalls is the great question before us; but to our great relief, Br. Brewer[3] is with us and we shall be able to avail ourselves of all the information he can give us. Today we hear that there is a strong reinforcement to the Catholic mission in this region; report says 5 priests, a number of nuns and one or more laymen. Surely the protestants ought to wake up; perhaps, however, the children of this world are not only wiser in the generation than the children of light; but more active and zealous.

Wednesday, 7. Today we hear Bro. Waller[4] is at Clatsop. The vessel went and left him. We have some strong inclination to retain him in the mission and send him to the Dalls to take and occupy the place and labors formerly occupied by Br. Perkins.

Thursday, 8. More and more inclined to have Br. Waller remain in the mission, provided he is disposed. Send a line to Bro. Leslie[5] to get his opinion on the point. Most of the day spent in reading Memoirs of Charles Wesley.

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[2] Rev. H. K. W. Perkins.
[3] H. B. Brewer, farmer.
[4] Rev. Alvan F. Waller.
[5] Rev. David Leslie.

Friday, 9. Busy in reading Charles Wesley's life.

Saturday, 10. Much taken up with C. Wesley.

Sabbath, 11. Preach to the people of this place, Williamette Falls. Close and plain sermons.

Monday, 12. Write to Br. Waller informing him of a willingness on our part of having him remain in the mission, but leave it with him to do as he judges best. Sent it by Geo. Abernethy.[6]

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[6] The following letter, which is in the possession of Oregon Historical Society, is doubtless the letter referred to:

"Willamette Falls Fri. Aug. 9. 1844.

"Rev. and Dear Br. Waller and Family

We have just received yours. had heard before you were still left in Oregon.

Soon after you left this place I received a letter from Br. Perkins stating if the lots in this place were sold he should leave the Mission. On reading it, I thought of you; but supposed you were gone; last Monday I received another letter from Br. Perkins stating his connection with the Mission is dissolved. I thot of you again. Soon heard the vessel had sailed without you; Br. Brewer was with us and he thought it was Providential that you was left. I think he is not the only one who thinks so. Now Br. and Sister Waller, I am about to propose a question to you; are you disposed after all that has taken place, to remain in this territory and take your place in the Mission as a part and parcel of it? if so, we are disposed to have you. The papers, charges, evidence &c can either be sent to the Genesee Conference; or when Br. Lee arrives call a Committee according to the form of Disciplin in such cases; or such other disposition of them as may be thought proper; Provided you have not already sent them; if you have sent them I can write to the Conference and inform them why you remain in this country. I believe it the general wish of our people that you stay in the Mission; Br. Brewer is satisfied you had better stay; and that you are the Preacher for the Dalls. Br. Perkins will soon move from that place and will be glad to sell his things to you; which probably can be bought as reasonably as you sold yours; so that many of these inconveniences can be got along with—with very little difficulty; as to myself if you stay you will have my friendly aid and hearty cooperation in your efforts to promote the interests of the Redeemers Kingdom in this region. Had I foreseen how Br. Perkins would finally determine I should not have made up my mind for your return to the States. I am sorry you have had so much trouble in arranging to go &c &c. Yet if after all you are disposed to stay I shall be pleased with the decision, but if you determine to go I shall submit to it, and follow you with my sympathies and prayers. If you conclude to remain and go to the Dalls, may I suggest that you take the Mission canoe in the charge of Br. Parish, get a crew and come up here as soon as convenient; keep your crew and go up with your canoe to the Dalls, family and all; in company with Br. Brewer and Family; Mrs. Gary and myself purpose to return with Br. Brewer. I think we shall wait untill we see you or hear from you. Br. Brewer is now up the Willamette. Will perhaps be back again in a week or two

Tuesday, 13. Sick today; quite a sick night.

Wednesday, 14. Still very unwell.

Thursday, 15. Better in health; employed busily and very pleasantly with C. Wesley's Memoirs.

Friday, 16. Taken up with the events narrated in C. Wesley's Memoirs, which took place one hundred years ago.

Saturday, 17. Still busy in Wesley's life.

Sabbath, 18. Preach morning and evening to the people of this place; say 35 hearers, old and young.

Monday, 19. Reading.

Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday. Reading. Thursday evening, temperance convention; there is a strong purpose on the part of this people to keep alcohol out of this territory.

Friday, 23. Busy reading.

Saturday, 24. Today finish C. Wesley's Memoirs. He was truly an important agent in the great revival of religion which commenced more than a century ago, under the name of Methodism, which is Christianity in earnest.

The hymns of C. Wesley will be sung until the songs of the militant shall be swallowed up in the superior songs of the triumphant church of God.

Sabbath, 25. In the evening, had quite a congrega-

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and we shall be glad to see you and your family here soon as convenient so that we all may go along together to the Dalls.

Sat. 10. I have learned by Mr. Hines' letter you have forwarded the papers to Genesee Conference and have also sent for a location. I have written to the Conference on the subject. the letter is unsealed and enclosed. Please read it and if you conclude to stay in the Mission write in the blank part of my letter your conclusion and also if you will withdraw your request for a location and send it on by the Belgium Vessel or such other way as you judge proper. Brs. Leslie & Hines are of opinion I believe that you had better remain in the country.

You will do as you judge proper about sending the enclosed to the Conference. If you think of anything new for me to write to them, keep this one untill you see me, and then I will write again— We shall expect you to remain with us I think. Accept our kind regards.

Yours affectionately

(Signed) George Gary"

Mon. 12. 1844.

tion; the largest, I think, I ever had at the Falls. Pressed hard upon them the truths of the gospel; the importance of attending to the interests of the soul was urged upon them with some feeling and I hope with good effect.

Monday, 26. Today, Bro. Beers[7] visits me in company with W. H. Wilson,[8] stating his grievances afflictions, &c, because Dr. Babcock has picked up and weighed the iron scattered about the blacksmith shop. The case is as follows: Mr. Beers has bought the improvements, stock and tools connected with the farm and blacksmith shop, at the appraisal of men; and as this iron was neither weighed nor appraised by these appraisers, I supposed and still suppose it belonged to the mission, and requested Doct. Babcock to gather it together and weigh it, that we might know the quantity and be ready to sell it, expecting probably it would go to Mr. Abernethy in the lot of unsold merchandise. Mr. Beers had another interview toward evening with me, a part of it in presence of G. Hines;[9] said Mr. Beers was in a state of great excitement; after all the explanations I gave him, threatened to sue for the iron. I told him not to sue in the name of the mission, for in view of his threat, I removed this iron out of his care and charge, so if he sued he would sue in his own name; but he questioned my authority to take this iron out of his care and responsibility, especially in this way. He also proposed cutting off from his connection with the mission any more; I suggested to him if he did, I should not feel at liberty to pay him an equivalent for his expenses home, but submit it to the board. What he may finally do, I know not. It is very possible, the Doct. did not attend to this business in the most prudent manner; yet I cannot see in the act itself, anything wrong in picking up the scattered iron and steel which lay round about the shop for some rods. When I saw the situation of the iron at first I was not pleased with it; but as I

[7] Alanson Beers, blacksmith.
[8] W. H. Willson, carpenter.
[9] Rev. Gustavus Hines.

expected soon to change the mode of operation here, I said nothing about it. I am fully satisfied Br. Lee, my predecessor, has had no unenviable situation in managing so much business and so many persons as have been connected with this mission. In my explanations to Br. Beers, I plainly stated to him the Doct. had picked up the iron and weighed it by my advice and direction; and also the reason I got the Doct. to do it, was, he had sufficient time to do it, when not engaged in his professional business. And as for myself, I never thought of implicating or afflicting Br. Beers by this act of gathering up and weighing the iron and steel.

Tuesday, 27. Received a letter from Br. Waller in which he informs me he concludes to remain in this country; is now camped a little below Fort VanCouver, and will there wait until Br. Brewer shall meet him. Now I propose to go with Mr. Brewer to the Dalls; shall probably start on Thursday and, Providence permitting, shall reach Br. Waller, on the Columbia, in the evening of the same day. Very busy in arranging to go to the Dalls.[10]

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[10] The following letter addressed to Rev. D. Leslie, Willamette, is in the possession of Oregon Historical Society:

"Tuesday Aug. 27, 1844.

"Rev. & Dear Brother

We have just received a letter from B. Waller; he is camped a little below Fort Vancouver; is to wait until Br. Brewer reaches him; Br. Brewer is now gone to the Plains; we expect him tomorrow; shall probably start for the Dalls on Thursday; I had calculated to go to the Hospital on Thursday, and then go up and attend quarterly meeting, come back on Monday, and then start for the Dalls with Br. Brewer, but as it is, I shall not go up the Willamette at present; but go with Br. Brewer up the Columbia River. The reason we start so soon is, Br. Waller is waiting for us. Br. Beers was here yesterday in great trouble, because Doct. Babcock had picked up and weighed the iron about the Blacksmith Shop in his place. As this iron had not been priced nor weighed by the appraisers, I supposed it belonged to the Mission; and requested the Doct. to pick it up and weigh it, had no idea of giving offence to Br. Beers, but merely wished to know the amount of it, expecting it would go to Br. Abernethy with the unsold goods; but by some means Br. Beers took high toned exceptions to this course and threatened to sue for this iron; in view of this threat I told him not to make use of the name of the Mission in this suit, and to prevent it I wished him to understand his charge of this iron is now discontinued, but he even doubted my authority to remove this iron from his care and responsibility in this way; what he will do I know not, if he sues I suppose the business

Wednesday, 28. Preparing to go to the Dalls; probably to be gone a month.

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can be adjourned untill I return from the Dalls. I am by no means highly pleased with such a spirit or threat from a member of the mission. If he does not sue, and we as a mission can manage this iron without his interference, I should be glad to have it sold to any purchaser if Dr. Abernethy is willing, who will make the best pay for it on a years credit. I think a lower price and cash payment will be the best for the Mission, but I leave it with you to do the best you can. Br. Abernethy probably has now a right to the first chance, but if he takes it, he takes it as other merchandise, but if he is willing it should be sold to any one; and if Br. Beers does not wish to purchase it; then sell as well as you can—

Some time ago I requested Brs. Babcock and Beers to sell the old Mission place; Br. Beers says he has engaged it to a Mr. Campbell for seven hundred bushels of wheat, and that he Br. Beers is willing to be bail for the payment of said wheat; it is my opinion if the Doct. has not made any sale, which will conflict with this, it should be considered a sale.

I hope you will be able to take the wheat as we talked; if Brs. Beers & Garrison wish any, you may let them have it at the same price, taking their joint note for cash in one year, without interest at eighty cents per bushel—

Last Sabbath we told the congregation there would be preaching next Sabbath; I then expected to remain here, and Br. Hines would attend quarterly meeting with you. When Br. Beers came in such a ferment of trouble I concluded to go up the Willamette and attend the quarterly meeting, but as it is now, it is probable neither of us will be with you. I shall start for the Dalls, and Br. Hines will remain here.

I am sorry it so turns that I cannot attend to the Mission business up your way untill I return from the Dalls. I hope you will get the survey bills, and endeavour to see me soon after my return. I purpose to be back by the first of October. Doct. Babcock will then be here at court, and if we have the surveys, the writings on the part of the Mission can be made out and acknowledged. Providence permitting I mean to be back by that time and shall be very glad to see you here then—

You are at perfect liberty to read this to Br. Beers. I have made quite an entry in my journal concerning his visit here, which I meant to read to him before I sent it to the board, but perhaps if you read this to him it may be sufficient. I am more and more convinced this secular business and the unavoidable feeling connected with business, had better be separated from the Mission soon as practicable.

Br. Beers' tide of feeling and thundering threat came upon me sudden and unexpected as a Pompeso at sea, yet it did not shake my little bark very much. I think I shall not be under the necessity to put into any Port to repair as yet. If after my explanations he had changed his tone any, I should have thought very differently of him, but he stuck to it tenaciously as though he thought I would yield by all means when the law was thundered over my head; but the old Proverb is 'they that know nothing fear nothing' so it rests as it was. I had formed an opinion I think too high of him; but possibly I may lay too much upon this Pompeso, so finally without deciding in my own mind upon the case I pospone for some future time.

I am yours with increasing esteem

(Signed) G. Gary"

Thursday, 29. Today we leave the Falls for Wascopam, in company with Br. and Sister Brewer, with two children, accompanied by four Indians as our crew to paddle and manage our canoe. This is the first time we have been in a canoe; our previous rides have been in boats; a canoe goes much easier, being narrow and at the bow very sharp. It however, rocks more easily, and requires the passengers to sit still or there is danger of capsizing; but as it is longer than a boat, it does not teater on the waves so much as a boat; so perhaps we may say all things taken into account, the canoe is preferable to a boat. About dark in the evening, we reach the north side of the Columbia river, about 1½ miles below Fort Vancouver, where we find Br. Waller and family encamped. They have been here three or four days, waiting for us to accompany them to the Dalls. Here we pitch our tents and pass the night on the very ground we slept nearly thirteen weeks ago, the first night we lodged on terra firma in Oregon territory. That night to Mrs. G. and myself was very delightful. This is full of labor and conflict with the mosquitoes. Here we find Br. Waller with his family, wife and four children, and a boat but no crew to help manage his boat up the river.

Friday, 30. In the morning, Br. Brewer company and canoe go up to the Fort where Mr. Brewer has some business to do; such as obtaining supplies for the mission up to the Dalls, and also obtaining things to pay off the Indians in his employ as a crew; also such other Indians as may be needed to help up the river. The way of traffic here is that no money is taken into account, but bargains are made with the Indians for so many charges of ammunition, or so many shirts, handkerchiefs, blankets, &c; hence it is necessary for the travelor to have these on hand as his change. The method of doing business at the Fort is so formal and tardy that in order for a person to feel contented and happy in the transaction of business with them, two things are necessary; one of these is the

value of time should be put out of sight and out of mind; the other is the Hudson Bay Company and such as are in their employ are entitled to all possible attention and accommodations while those who do business with them in the business line are entitled to no attention or civilities from the company or the persons in their employ; hence any attention from them in their own time and in this way must be deemed great consideration on the part of these persons and a high honor conferred on him who does business with them; this cannot be expected to set the best upon the feelings of an old man who has been in the habit of having rights recognized and civilities reciprocated on both sides in business transactions; this remark refers solely to business transactions; for when the travelor or visitor approaches this place and falls in company with the distinguished members of this company, he has all the civilities extended to him that could be expected or asked. Mr. Brewer's bill would have been made out, I think, in one hour in any business house in the states, but in this place he commenced about ten o'clock in the morning and closed it about five p. m., and we felt in great haste as there was a fair wind up the river and indeed Mr. Brewer urged forward the business as much as would do in this place and with this company. After we closed up this business, we went to our canoe. Br. Waller was up with his boat to assist him and then we put off up the river and after ascending up about two miles, we camp for the night. We have now in our company 12 whites and 4 Indians.

Saturday, 31. About nine p. m., we started and passed slowly up the river. We have had some rapids to contend with our Indians where the water was low and the rapids strong, stepped out and walked taking hold of the canoe and conducting along by their side. After making about 15 miles advance, we camped for the night and for Sunday at the foot of Prairie Dieu Tie, a most

beautiful situation for a camp. The surrounding scenery enchantingly beautiful.

[1844] Sunday, September 1. We spend the Sabbath in this lovely spot in rest, reading and divine worship; sermon in the morning; afternoon prayer meeting in which all the adults took a part and though we could not understand each other, yet our common Father can understand his children in their devotions whatever their language.

Monday, 2. Soon after daylight, we started and after passing perhaps eight miles, we were met by head wind and laid by for breakfast; beach was covered with various specimens of beautiful pebbles; and soon after breakfast, we started again, the wind having turned favorable, and soon we came in sight of a huge pillar of rock which presented itself in about the middle of river. This was an omen of the mighty wonders which soon presented themselves to our view in the most splendid and magnificent view of rocks in pillars and in almost every form as up, up, up, until within the neighborhood of the clouds. The grandest scene by far I ever witnessed in the works of nature. This is what is sometimes called Cape Horn. The waters are restless; the mighty columns of basalt, like lofty pyramids lifting themselves up as to heaven, truly made the scene fearfully grand; never was I so awed by nature in any of her forms in which she has ever showed herself. The far famed Falls of Niagara dwindle compared with the scenery of this day; it wants the pen of fancy to describe this scene and the most obtuse and dull mind is almost waken up into fancy here; but my incompetency to describe the scene forbids the attempt as all attempt of mine would be but solemn mockery. This scenery presents itself in unnumbered varieties new and grand for about two miles. At night we camp at the foot of the cascades.

Tuesday, 3. Today a scene full of novelty and labor. These cascades continue for four miles in which the

passengers walk all this distance and the canoe and all the baggage and freight have to be carried nearly half a mile. After breakfast, I had a child more than a year old lashed to my back by a large shawl and carried him the four miles. Bros. Waller and Brewer took larger children. Bro. Waller for a considerable part of the way, had two, one before and one behind; each woman had her budget and when we got to upper landing, we were a weary set. Bros. Waller and Brewer immediately started back to meet the Indians with the canoe and boat and enlisted perhaps 15 other Indians, who, after much toil and sweat, finally got goods, &c, &c, up these rapids, and about sun down, these newly enlisted Indians were paid off and in a short time we started away about one mile to a very pleasant sandy beach to pitch our tents and pass the night, weary enough. There was a strong wind in the night and our tent being on the sand, it fell before morning, but sleep was so friendly as to keep us quiet in its arms the most of the time under our fallen house until morning.

Wednesday, 4. Today the wind was so high we run but a little part of the day, perhaps not more than four hours in all day; the water was so rough as that the Indians called it bad water. We passed one rock with a narrow escape. The hills and rocks on both sides grand, indeed.

Thursday, 5. Today very much like yesterday; wind so high the most of the day we had to lie by.

Friday, 6. Moderate and fair wind and we reach the landing at Wascopam about Meridian. As we come up we see Br. Perkins on the bank ready to receive us. Also about twenty Indians are gathered here to see the old grey headed chief. They look at him and I suppose see that he is nothing but an old man. We go to the house and after dinner we have some talk with Br. Perkins from which it appears that he has declared off from the mission without fixing upon anything definite for himself,

and I suspect that after all he may have expected that with many cries and tears he will be entreated to remain in the service of the mission. We must wait a few days and see how the winds will blow.

Saturday, 7. I am more and more surprised that Br. Perkins should declare off as he has. What will be done, I know not.

Sunday, 8. Today at eleven o'clock a. m., meeting with the natives. About one hundred present, the largest congregation I have seen in the territory. From the attention and order of the congregation, I am favorably impressed concerning this people and hope something may be done for their everlasting benefits. At 2 p. m., preached to the writes; 17 old and young; also a very few Indians. 5 p. m., Prayer meeting with and among the natives; quite a number of these prayed, both men and women; from the apparent spirit of these prayers, I charitably believe some of them fear the Lord. There is a great degree of heathenish darkness among the most of them; in their conflicts or wars among their tribes, they take their captives as slaves. There has just been a case as follows:—A man lost a son; this man had a slave of perhaps ten years of age; this son formerly thought much of this slave and now his father determined this boy must be buried with the body of his deceased son (they bury their dead in boxes above ground) the living boy's feet were tied together at the ankles; his hands also at the wrists; he put into the box face downward and then the dead body put onto him. In this condition, he spent one night, but through the interference of Br. Perkins by purchasing the slave with a number of blankets and a few other things, saved the little fellow from the sepulchre of death; here he is at Br. Perkins', ankles and wrists very sore from the efforts he made to break loose from the bonds of death. The box is large and holds many bodies. This boy was put onto many old corpses. The dead body put onto him was but larger than his own;

he was buried with the deceased son to wait on him; these boys thought much of each other while both were alive. It was with considerable difficulty that Br. Perkins finally got the living boy; during his dreadful night, he squirmed about so that he rolled the dead body off of him, or he probably would have died before morning.

Monday, 9. This evening, another interview with Br. Perkins. This interview was preceded by a letter from him in which he proposes to recant his renunciation from all connection with the mission; but in the meantime sets forth his heart is not here and he is in state of condemnation for remaining here and has been for a long time. In our interview he appears very unsettled in his purposes; sticks to it he has suffered great anguish of spirit for staying here so long; yet represents that the time to go seems never to have come. Why herein is a mystery that a man's conscience should goad him so severely for not doing that which the time to do has never come. Moreover, he talks as though he wishes me to make him some offer in reference to translating the scriptures into the Walla Walla; but as yet I have formed no opinion as to the propriety of such an enterprise, and, of course, can give no encouragement. My advice to Br. Perkins is plain and full, that unless he can feel that he is in the way of duty here, so as to have his heart here, he had better by all means to go back to his conference, if he has suffered as much from his conscience as he represents from remaining here so long, it is my decided judgment he should stay no longer if, by remaining, he prolongs this condemnation of spirit. If, at any future period, we should need him in the mission, and he should be so converted as to think he would be in the way of duty to serve, the arrangement will be open for consideration. Also I stated to him I was satisfied in my judgment he erred, but gave him credit for being honest in his opinion. Nothing will convince him of his error unless something aboard after he leaves this place should lead such a

change of his views. I seriously fear that his feelings are so strong and so liable to change and his calculations and hopes so sanguine that some evil may await or befall him; at any rate, it is my opinion he had better leave the mission according to his own plan and purpose as expressed in his letter of July 26, 1844.

He finally concludes to leave, appearing relieved and pleased in the conclusion.

Tuesday, 10. Today Bro. Perkins busy in selling his things to Br. Waller. See the cattle belonging to this appointment look well; our farming business must be carried on here for the support of the mission. This place is nearly one hundred miles from civilization, and here but two families, the preacher and farmer. The supplies of the farm must be had for the support of the preacher and the minister wants the aid and society of the farmer and our farmer here is well adapted to his post and as far as I can see, is exerting a good influence.

Our sympathies are greatly enlisted in seeing a squaw lately bitten by a rattelsnake. It was perhaps four hours ago; her foot is badly swollen; she is sick at the stomach; vomits some; near her is a medicine man or conjuror who refuses to have any other person do anything for the sufferer. I seriously fear she will die.

Wednesday, 11. This morning we hear they sent some distance for another medicine man to cure the poor woman bitten by the rattlesnake. It is said this second doctor, if doctor he may be called, knows how to cure the bite of the snake; also said the patient is a little better.

Thursday, 12. I this day visit the falls of Columbia river, ten miles above the mission building; here is a very great fishing; also a large lodge of Indians, perhaps two hundred; we have a meeting with them. Bro. Perkins interprets for me; I address the Indians who convene on [hearing(?)] the tea bell; perhaps one hundred present; I inform them one Being made us all; He wills our happiness; the reason we are unhappy if we do wrong and

when we are sorry we have done wrong, and pray Him to forgive us, He will take away our bad heart and give us a good heart, and then we must do well and avoid everything that is wrong; must always speak the truth; never take anything that is not our own; a man must love his wife and have but one woman; and many such suggestions adapted to their capacity; finally close by stating to them that if we are good we are all brethren and our Heavenly Father will bring all His good children to His great home in heaven, but if we are bad children, He will drive us away from His house where we shall be very miserable forever.

This meeting was pleasing to me. Bros. Waller and Perkins took part in it. We passed the island where Bro. Perkins' little slave was buried. The Indians bury their dead on islands so that the wolves will be less likely to disturb the bodies of the dead. The boxes in which they deposit these bodies are about twelve feet square; these are family sepulchers, which are used by being kept in some sort of repair from generation to generation; when the bones are left by the departed flesh and the clothing which is put on from time to time by the surviving relatives, then they are brushed up into a heap in the corner of this sepulcher, and then there is more room for more dead bodies. The Indians think our way of burying the dead is very unfeeling; we do not clothe the bodies sufficiently; we do not furnish them with sufficient supplies for the various emergencies of their future state &c &c. No one among them touches the dead body but the proper burying man; no other one touches this island but he. Bro. Perkins employed him to go and get the living boy from this sepulcher; and the three blankets and shirt which were given for the ransom of this boy were taken out and put into this sepulcher for the deceased boy's comfort and convenience. Heathenism, how dark thou art! how unreasonable and absurd thou art! Yea, how unfeeling and cruel thou art to bury

the living with the dead! Let the father of a sprightly and promising boy who is buried with the dead speak and tell us of thy darkness and of thy cruelty. Civilization and Christianity never did I know how to prize; surely thou art to be prized above all price. Never did I feel so much the want of language to address a people as now; but I have it not, and must submit, and our facilities for an interpreter are very limited indeed. Our congregations are mixed so that we often have to have two or three interpreters; but we are doing the best we can; I am almost forced to think that there has been time, attention and expense devoted to the Willamette portion of this work to the neglect of this part of the field; here the Indians are not so depraved in health and I think not in morals; they have the appearance of intellect, and I have hope something may be done for them. From the best account I can get, Rev. Daniel Lee had but little missionary activity or zeal after he was married. Bro. Perkins for some years has been busy in getting the language, preaching, visiting, stirring about actively among the Indians [who] have been very much neglected for some considerable time, and it appears to me this part of our work has not had a fair trial yet; here are many who pray, lead a praying life, yet they have had no privileges of class for years, or such other aids as directly tend to strengthen and keep these ignorant lambs of the flock. I really hope there may be a people here yet who will show forth the power of truth and grace by being elevated in their minds and consistant in their Christian profession. Never did I feel so like being a missionary.

Friday, 13. Bro. Waller returns his draft for $700 given for his passage from the islands to the states; also $100 cash advanced him for expenses at the islands, and elsewhere, in his voyage home. Learn the poor woman who was bitten by the rattlesnake is like to recover. Spent the day mostly reading and writing.

Saturday, 14. Devoted to reading and writing.

Sabbath, 15. Today a very good congregation. Bro. Perkins preached in the morning; Bro. Waller exhorted after him, and as far as I could judge, it had as happy an effect as Bro. P. preaching. I am more and more encouraged that Br. Waller will do well here. I followed with a few remarks interpreted by Bro. P. P. M. I preached to the whites.

Monday, 16. Spent in reading Chase on Roman Catholic Indulgencies; good as the book is it is somewhat doubtful whether the making the book was really called for; perhaps the expression of the author at a temperance meeting which finally led to make the book was not only uncalled for but was unadvisable.

Tuesday, 17. Spent in reading and writing.

Wednesday, 18. Rode out perhaps four miles to see some specimens of the geology of this region; some fine specimens of granite.

Thursday, 19. Read W. Irving's Memoir of Miss Margaret M. Davidson. An admirable young lady; superior writer. An indian killed a few miles above us; shot by another Indian, very bad one.

Friday, 21. Writing and reading. There is considerable sickness among the Indians and indeed in the mission families here; it is the cold sick.

Saturday, 21. Busy in preparing to go down the river on Monday.

Sabbath, 22. A congregation of perhaps two hundred natives. Bro. Perkins preached to them in their language. I followed by an interpreter, in which I stated to them that it was a great and good thing to be a Christian; no man by good luck or forture is a Christian; no man blunders into it by chance; there must be a regard for God and an honest heart in his sight and a faithful observance of all he teaches us so far as we understand his will concerning us. At 2 p. m. I preached to the whites. Baptised Bro. Perkins' children, three in number. And administered the communion to members present, eight in

all; is not this the day of small things; it is not, however, to be despised.

Monday, 23. At 1 p. m. we leave the shore at Wascopam for down the river in company with Bros. Perkins and family, Brewer and Mr. Little John[11] and family,—more company than is desirable; this Mr. Little John is from Doct. Whitney's[12] station a hundred miles above; if I were required to give my opinion on a short interview, of him, it would be he is restless, wandering, uneasy man having a more exalted opinion of himself than any other has of him. Current and wind favorable; we run down perhaps thirty miles; put up for the night on the north bank of the river.

Tuesday, 24. Start early but soon lay by from the violence of the wind; start again toward night and run down close to cascades.

Wednesday, 25. Mostly spent in making the portage at the cascades. Just at evening, we take the canoe and run down the river perhaps four miles, but the wind is so high we are obliged to lie by.

Thursday, 26. Wind down the river and so high no venturing out today. Here we are on the south bank of the river with a very strong east wind pressing down; the waters much troubled, no advancement today. We are now just above what is called Cape Horn in this river; a very windy, rough and dangerous place and it will be unsafe for us to put to sea down the river any further until the wind abates to nearly or quite a calm; if we had a near and refined company as comrades in this delay, it would be much more agreeable; we have Bro. Brewer who is like a man of our own choice; but I cannot say this of any other one in the company. Our company consists of Bro. Perkins and family, Mr. Littlejohn and family, male and female, 11 whites and 9 Indians.

Friday, 27. Wind high. We have time to read and

[11] P. B. Littlejohn, returned East in 1845.
[12] Dr. Marcus Whitman.

write. We have a tent by ourselves, and enjoy ourselves tolerably well. Contentment and patience, what a treasure! We are not able to make any calculations when we shall proceed; about four p. m. we start and run perhaps an hour very pleasantly; put up for the night little above Cape Horn, in full view of a mountain, perhaps four thousand feet high, illuminated by thousands of torches; the most splendid exhibit of fire works I ever saw; it is a time of a very great fire; thousands of trees up this mountain were in a splendid blaze, and ever and anon the report of a falling tree like distant cannon.

Saturday, 28. Beautiful state of wind and water for us to descend the river; but there is so much smoke as to hide the sun and darken the river so we were for a while lost. But we finally passed on and camped near Fort Vancouver; fire prevailing in almost every direction.

Sunday, 29. Spent in Camp. Had meeting.

Monday, 30. Today call at the Fort; then pass on, put up for the night on the banks of the Willamette.

[1844] Tuesday, October 1. Today, reach the falls.

Wednesday, 2. Attend court as a spectator. Doct. Babcock judge. Indeed it looks quite like a land of law and order. One criminal fined for sending a challenge to fight a duel, $500, and deprived of his eligibilities to any office of trust or profit; also of the privilege of voting at any election; he was drawn as a juror before the grand jury brought in a bill against him; by order of the court his name was stricken from the list of jurors.

Thursday, 3. In counsel today what had better be done with our book accounts which amount to more than $20,000.

Friday, 4. Busy in writing. Bro. Perkins is here on his way to the states.

Saturday, 5. Day spent in reading and writing.

Sabbath, 6. Preached to about 35 hearers. Bro. Perkins does not attend meeting today at all; as yet I am unable to even guess the reason.

Monday, 7. Employ a portion of this day in reviewing our financial affairs—especially our donation goods which came out with us; some of these are of great convenience.

Tuesday, 8. Spent in reading and writing.

Wednesday, 9. Writing, preparing communications for the states.

Thursday, 10. Reading Wesley sermons.

Friday, 11. Today the first appearance of emmigrants over land. Two or three just passed the door, who have hastened on, leaving the body behind. Say the company amounts to twelve hundred. If we had come by land, we should just begin to see Oregon.

Saturday, 12. Lent G. Hines in cash $30.

Sunday, 13. Meeting. The week spent in reading, writing, &c.

Sunday, 20. Very rainy day but we have our meetings as usual.

Wednesday, 23. In counsel today what had better be done with our book accounts which amount to more than $20,000; this is somewhat of a serious question; I fear much of it is not good. We owe probably $10,000. A few of our liabilities are such I fear I shall be under the necessity of drawing on the treasurer for some of it. I learned a few days ago that we are owing the Sandwich Islands [Islanders (?)], borrowed by Rev. J. Lee of Doct. McLaughlin, more than a thousand dollars. They were dismissed last July and returned to the Doct. and I supposed paid off, but I believe only one or two were settled with; there are ten or eleven to be settled with.

Thursday, 24. Today after consultation with Doct. Babcock, it is now settled that he goes to the states in company with Bro. Perkins. This gives great relief in reference to Bro. P. family.

Friday, 25. This day gave David Leslie order on Doct. McLaughlin for six hundred and twelve dollars to be charged to account of mission.

Saturday, 26. This week has presented a variety of natives and subjects for counsel and decision. Doctor Babcock informed me on Monday that he had made up his mind to return to the states at the fartherest next fall, and that if I was willing as superintendent of the mission, he had some thoughts of going this fall in company with Bro. Perkins and family; in view of the condition of Bro. Perkins' family, I gave it as my opinion he had better go this fall. It was previously understood between the doctor and myself that he was not to be employed by the mission on a salary after the annual meeting next May; but the mission was to return him to the states whenever he should determine to go. There is such a supply of medical men in this community it is not thought necessary for the mission to have one specially in their employ. Our mission appointments are so remote from each other that one man cannot attend to all the calls and other physicians from necessity are often called. and I think the community in this department are tolerably well provided for. Doct. Babcock has sustained a very fair and respectable standing in this community, in all respects, and at the present time exercises the office and discharges the duties of Judge of Probate and Circuit courts,[13] with credit to himself and to the benefit of community. It is a loss to this community to have him leave; but I cannot require his remaining here unless in my opinion the interests of the mission as a mission demand it. In view of this, I consent he may leave, and he leaves with my high esteem and Christian regards. I think Bro. Perkins will now go directly home and I hope into the ministry regularly and faithfully.

There is a great and sudden change in the current of feeling in this community in reference to our mission, if

[13] Dr. Ira L. Babcock was appointed February 8, 1841, Supreme Judge with probate powers; May 2, 1843, he was succeeded by A. E. Wilson, and the latter was again succeeded by Babcock, May 14, 1844. By the act of June 27, 1844, a Circuit Court was created with probate and criminal powers.

I get the right idea. Under the former business managements, the prejudice of community was this mission was of a speculative and monopolizing character. Now as our business closes up and it is difficult to get mission drafts from us, we are ruining the country. Formerly when an emigrant came or anyone and wanted employ, the mission had it for him at a high price, and he soon could get a draft and everything went very fine. Now the mission has little or no employ of this kind and there is no person to give them employ who will or can pay in a draft. Almost everyone, or at least quite a proportion of those who have been in this region for two or more years and are well off have received their foundation or start from the mission. The news of this has spread and people have lately come and doubtless are now coming with the expectation the Methodist mission at any rate will be glad to employ them; but finding it otherwise, they are seriously disappointed. So you see the mission has the curses or rather their superintendent's, Bro. Lee, for monopoly and speculation; his successor for this sudden shock and revulsion in business. It is my opinion that there is and will be so much said on this change of operations here that as soon as everything is fairly and fully arranged my ministry, if any use, will be of more in some other post of work than here. Our Sandwich Islands [Islanders ?] cost us ten dollars per month. They may now be had for six. If the board at home will countenance our drawing say $15,000 annually, I think the business part of this people will soon be better pleased with us than they have been for some time.

Monday, 27. Saturday evening, Bro. Perkins proposed to Bro. Hines to change with him so that Bro. Hines would go to the states and he remain and take Bro. Hines' station. Mystery upon Mystery. After all Bro. Perkins' goodness, it is but the development of human frailty and weakness; and I fear a predisposition to insanity. These fears prevent my talking with him as

freely and plainly as I otherwise would do. I am desirous, if possible, to get him safely to the states. I am satisfied there is not the agreement and harmony of feeling among the members of the church here there ought to be. I think disagreement and disunion have for a long time been felt in this mission. And I am at an entire loss what to do to promote the spiritual interests of this people.

Thursday, 31. Never was I more lost in knowing what is best to do than I am at the present time. I will wait and watch if happily some opening may present itself.

[1844] Tuesday, November 5. Give an order on Dr. McLaughlin, $5.84 to H. K. W. Perkins.

Wednesday, 6. Today Mr. Perkins leaves Willamette Falls; has been at Bro. Hines, he and his family, five weeks.

Saturday, 9. Finish letters and papers to the board and others in the states. Letters sent to Z. Paddock, 1; G. Lane, 1; treasurer, 1; R. Soule, 1; E. Whipple, 1; I. S. Rogers, 1; W. Semitage, 1; G. Baker, 1; Moses, Adam and Aaron, 5 sheets; a long and full account to the secretary.

Sunday, 10. About 20 hearers.

Monday, 11. Doct. Babcock and family leave for Fort VanCouver, and also for the states. He apparently leaves in a favorable state of feeling; I think his interview with the board will be highly appreciated by the board.

Tuesday, 12. Write to the board a copy of Dr. McLaughlin's bond for the city lots to the mission, that they may more fully see the ground on which I stood in the sale of these lots to Dr. McLaughlin.

Wednesday, 13. Having written so much lately, I suffered considerable pain in my breast.

Thursday, 14. Busy in reading Mrs. Record's lectures on the philosophy of the mind.

Friday, 15. Yet reading Mrs. Record's. I am shut

up for the present and probably shall be for the winter, as a kind of prisoner, so rainy, no traveling, not a horse to ride; but very few friends to visit; one great comfort—a plenty of good books; with them I am busy.

Saturday, 23. We have very dark and rainy weather; have not seen the face of the sun for more than a week; for five weeks, I think, we have not had 48 hours at a time without rain. The Williamette River is very high; many sawlogs are lost; some fears lest the water may do damage to the miller in this place. Since Doct. Babcock left, I have done but little. I have suffered considerable pain from writing so steadily before he left; have seldom taken a pen in hand since. Am satisfied that the winter will not pass as pleasantly as it would provided I could exercise more, especially on horseback. Without it rains day and night and hence I spend in my chamber day after day, night after night; plenty of good books &c. Yet I hope this retirement will be of some use. But after all the mind somehow is prone to be like the weather, dark and gloomy.

Thursday, 28. We have very high water in the Williamette; considerable damage done; perhaps more than two thousand saw logs washed away; one house and store washed down, being founded on sand; fish house belonging to Hudson Bay Company, with perhaps sixty barrels of salted salmon gone; considerable other damage; water said never to have been so high since the white inhabitants have been here. Fears have been raised in reference to other buildings and property to a considerable extent lest the high and raging waters should take much more property down stream. Today the waters assuage; fears of community abate. It is not safe to deposit treasure upon earth in any land especially in this land; one part of the year there is great danger of its being burned up; the other part of the year great danger of its being drowned out or swept down stream by the winter almost unceasing rains and consequent overflowing streams.

This Williamette river, right before our window, has probably raised 35 feet. This sweeping high water has considerably abated my very high esteem of this country. Our mission store has had more than two feet of water in the cellar. It must suffer some considerable damage from this flood. I am well pleased with the sale of the lots and improvements in this place to Doc. McLaughlin. The parsonage which we purchased is safe and far removed from fear.

Friday, 29. We hear the river was considerably higher about thirty years ago. I am more and more satisfied that property in this place is very much exposed to be destroyed by water in times of great freshets.

Saturday, 30. One year today since we left the city and port of New York. The year has presented many a new scene; with sundry peculiar lights and shades; yet after all, no regrettings that we came. Am satisfied someone should have come, and if I am the one to attend to this work, there is some pleasure in being in the midst of it, with all its responsibilities, toils, vexations and cares. I am satisfied that a very few years will give another character to the Methodist mission in this land. And if it can once assume a high moral and religious character, there is no telling what good may be done here.

[1844] Monday, December 2. Our meeting yesterday small, perhaps 18 or 20 hearers. I almost despair of ever seeing that regard to meetings here there ought to be. Today I received a letter from Doct. McLaughlin concerning our settlement with the Sandwich Islanders. He claims for them pay for their service from the time they left Oahu and also expense of passage back which will make more than three hundred dollars to be added to their expense to the mission; a most impolitic employment of laborers.

Tuesday, 3. Afternoon, Mr. Mack[14] has been in and informed us we have letters ten miles below from over

[14] Nathan P. Mack, pioneer of 1843.

the mountain, he has also a letter. He proposed to go to-morrow, provided I would obtain a person to go with him in a canoe and get them. I proposed to Sister Hines to let her Sandwich Islander go, but she replies that nothing would induce her to let him go except to save life; this settles the question at once about him. Br. Hines and I went out to find somebody to go with Mr. Mack, but do not succeed. More than a year since we left our friends; have not heard a word from them yet; letters within 10 or 12 miles but very doubtful whether we obtain them for a week for the want of obtaining a man to go with Mr. Mack tomorrow. Patience, be implored to render thy soothing and quieting aid.

Wednesday, 4. After some considerable effort, we find a man to go with Mr. Mack down the river in search of letters. Mr. Cayson,[15] who bought the Klackamus farm of Mr. Robb,[16] comes full of trouble and short talk about the Indians meddling with his affairs on the farm; but I do not see that I can do anything in the premises; we have only given our right to the claim as a mission and sold the property on it at a fair value, to Mr. Robb and to Mr. Coyson; I deem it Mr. Coyson's fault or misfortune that he cannot get along better with the Klackamus Indians.

Evening, Mr. Mack returns with letters from our friends in the states. No one can ever tell the delight these letters afford unless they pass the event, and then they can never tell; this delight is unspeakable; though they are more than eight months old, yet they are new to us. The delight of these letters overcome me so much that sleep departed from me almost for the whole night. Our friends were well.

Thursday, 5. We read over and over, our precious letters, with eyes suffused with tears of joy; these letters, these letters, I repeat, these letters how good they are;

[15] Findel C. Cason, a pioneer of 1843.

[16] J. R. Robb. The Klackamas farm was at the present Gladstone Park.

how good our dear friends, the writers of them are; they are George, Jim and Catharine Gary, Aaron, Adam, Catharine Miller; George Lane and Lydia Lane. In the evening we receive the Nos. of the Christian Advocate and Journal from the time of our leaving up to April 3, 1844. Never did this paper appear half so interesting before; any item of news concerning our dear country, our dearly beloved Zion; distinguished individuals connected with the Methodist E. church, &c &c; how important to us; these papers and letters seem to put us in the states in our feelings and interests for a season.

Friday, 6. Papers and letters; letters and papers, we are feasting.

Saturday, 7. The leading topic of consultation in this mission with me, now, is what is the best arrangements to make with the debts due the mission.

Sunday, 8. Today meeting as usual; preach to about a dozen hearers; This day I am fifty one years old. Time is short; I purpose to keep on the look out for the serious and important summons and hope to be ready. Oh, may it be so.

Monday, 9. I am in no small difficulty to determine what is best to do with the debts due the mission. I think Mr. Abernethy would be glad to buy them, but I do not feel they would be exactly safe in his hands. I fear he never would be able to meet the payments. He may be an excellent accountant, probably is; but if I mistake not, something more is needed in this country to make the liabilities of a merchant sure. I hope we may be able to sell these debts in some safe way so as not to have the protracted care and trouble of their collection. I am satisfied there never should have been such an amount trusted out to almost everybody in this territory.

Tuesday, 10. Finds me reading the Advocates lately received. I feel a great interest in the safety and prosperity of the Methodist E. church, and consequently great solicitude in the doings of the general conference for

1844. But shall have to wait perhaps six months longer before I hear anything of these doings.

Wednesday, 11. Very rainy dull weather; warm; we have had white frosts two mornings only; no freezing of water at all; I am not certain for health, and even for pleasure, but I should prefer a New York winter; there is nothing, however, like being contented in the situation in which Providence places us. This country has suffered much from the late high water. In this place the damage is small compared to the losses up the river; fences, houses, cattle, wheat, &c &c have gone down stream. Our news yet is not very particular, but we hear in a way, we suppose it true, that the mission has lost in the barn at the late mission farm, now Mr. Beer's, some six or eight hundred bushels of wheat in the chaff, the high water coming into the barn. It is a great discount from the value of farms on the Williamette this liability to damage in time of freshets. From the best knowledge as yet obtained, I presume the direct damage of this flood in this new country, saying nothing of loss of time during its continuance, is not less than twenty thousand dollars. The emigrants over the mountains have a very wet introduction to this land; it must be discouraging to them. We came in the first of June, the most favorable time; perhaps our first impressions were too elevated; at any rate these dull and cloudy months with almost ceaseless rains and high sweeping ruinous waters have had some effect upon our very high estimation of this land.

Thursday, 12. As to weather, it may be stereotyped cloudy, rainy, dark. Fine time to read provided I can find anything of sufficient interest to keep me awake to read, and if I am at a great loss I fly to the Nos. of the Advocate just received and to the previous letters from our dear friends lately received and soon forget it is dull weather; and though we read them over and over, they are still good.

Friday, 13. Today the sun in the firmament breaks through the fog and clouds and shows his face; and appears very much as he used to do in some warm April day in New York. I have visited a few families of the late emigrants; they appear highly pleased with attention, kindness and friendship in this distant and strange land. I hope this attention will be favorable to their best interests. In all my visits I purpose to give a religious turn to every one, as far as my influence may go.

Sunday, 15. We have quite a number of emigrants in our meeting. It adds much to our congregation; perhaps over thirty hearers; quite encouraging; some of these emigrants appear religious. This evening, we hear the Columbia, in which Doct. Babcock and Mr. Perkins and their families were passengers for Sandwich Islands, left the Columbia river on the 5th instant. It is very difficult getting out of the river; the water on the bar must be about right and the wind must be right also; vessel sometimes waits for weeks in Baker's Bay for such a chance, and often they wait about coast for weeks for an opportunity to come in.

Monday, 16. For a few days, it has not rained; yet we seldom see the sun; foggy all day; so dark it is rather necessary to sit by the window to have light enough to see to read or write. This evening we hear Sister Judson, the wife of L. H. Judson, who came with the great reinformement of 1840, to this land as a missionary, has fallen asleep in death. She has suffered very much for a few years, but her sufferings, I trust, ended on the 10th instant and she has entered into the rewards of the righteous.

Tuesday, 17. There was an almost ceaseless wailing last night in an Indian lodge about 25 rods from us. We hear there was one in their company sick.

Wednesday, 18. The Indians wailed most dreadfully all night without any apparent cessation. Mrs. Gary sick with the tooth ache all night. Rainy today. Oregon

winter weather. About sunset I visited the Indian lodge; here is a sick woman; the wailing for two nights past are for her recovery, directed by the medicine man or conjurer. I believe little or no medicine in such cases is given; the cure is to be effected by wailing; they lie by and sleep during the day; the most of them are now asleep. About eight o'clock the Indians have begun their night work; they howl and wail most dreadfully. O, if I could engihten them, how gladly would I do it; two important and unsurmountable impediments in the way; one is, I have not their confidence, so as to have any influence over them or access to them; the other, I cannot say a word to them they can understand. My sympathies are deeply enlisted yet I cannot do them a particle of good.

Saturday, 21. For a few days I have been selling the debts due the mission including merchandise, mechanic's, milling and medical, and, indeed, all debts due the mission from each and every department except the sales I have made to the Institutes, L. H. Judson, and Wm. Wilson, H. Campbell, J. Robb, G. Abernethy, and Doct. McLaughlin at one third off, remainder payable according to an article agreement between the mission and G. Abernethy, A. Beers and J. Force. In one year they are to pay $1,000 cash, and not more than two thousand dollars in this country pay for the support of missionaries, and 1846, cash $500, and not more than two thousand in this country pay, and so on annually cash $500, this country pay not more than $2,000, interest at six per cent annually from 1847. By this agreement I relieve the mission of all toil and vexations of collecting these numerous debts scattered all over this territory; well satisfied with this arrangement; I have had the benefit of the counsel and aid of Bro. Leslie and Hines. This point of business has been among the most difficult to arrange. The amount being considerable, I have been very desirous to make the sale a safe one. I think it is as much so as any can be in this country. Every Saturday evening, there

is a lyceum in this place in which there are many references to persons and events in community. Bro. Hines has just returned from this lyceum meeting and he says one piece read was professedly from a traveler through this land observing the state of business and things he represents when he approached the places where the mission had carried on great business formerly but not so now. "That the fall of Iaso [Jason] and the arrival of his successor in this land is like nine months cholera." Surely the relief to this country when I leave it must be great, unless after all, the evils of my course should be irreparable.

Monday, 23. I felt great relief in arranging the debts as I did last week. I drew up Saturday evening an article of agreement on the subject but as it was desirable to copy it, it was left for this morning when lo and behold an adverse wind has come up and they refuse to sign, so all the load comes back upon me; this refusal, however, springs from some want of a perfect understanding among themselves, no misunderstanding with me. Saturday night I was sick; yesterday I did not attend meeting. The manner in which I spend this winter does not agree with my health. I must spend next winter, if I live, differently. Evening. The above mentioned wind was only a short squall. They have settled their misunderstanding and have signed the article of agreement. I think the business is now arranged. The trouble of collecting these debts is now off of the hands of the mission.

Tuesday, 24. This morning, on the surrounding hills snow may be seen, the first we have seen since we left New York. In a short time, however, it disappears.

REMINISCENCES OF JAMES E. R. HARRELL

By Fred Lockley

James E. R. Harrell lives at 5725 72nd Street S. E., Portland, Oregon, on the Mt. Scott carline. When I visited him recently, he told me of his trip across the plains and of the early history of Clatsop County. "I was born in Covington, Indiana, September 7, 1830," said Mr. Harrell. "My father, Isaac Harrell, who was born on January 9, 1806, in Ohio, was a cabinet-maker. My mother's maiden name was Mary Ann Hollis. She was born in Baltimore, Maryland, September 5, 1808. My parents were married September 5, 1827. They had five children and raised three of them. My mother died on December 23, 1838, my father outliving her by more than 55 years. Father didn't die till August 5, 1893. On November 24, 1839, my father married Mary Ann McComis, a widow with one son. Her maiden name was Mary Ann Jolly. She outlived my father, dying on December 18, 1897. My father's first child, Emmaline J. Harrell, was born June 6, 1828. I was the next child and was christened James Edwin Ray Harrell. I will be 93 on my next birthday. My step-mother's son, John Taylor McComis, was born July 12, 1833, the same year my brother Will was born—he was born on September 21, 1833. The first child my father and my step-mother had was David Harrison Harrell. He was born on November 7, 1840. My half sister, Mary Elizabeth, who married James Walker, was born October 31, 1843. She and I are the only ones of the family still alive. Six weeks before my folks started for Oregon, my step-mother had a baby, whom they named Martha Ann Harrell. She was born on March 8, 1847. We started for Oregon that spring. We drove to St. Joseph and waited there for the emigrants to assemble. It was quite a sight to see the camp fires of hundreds of families with the new canvas covers on their wagons, the old folks talking around the camp fire, while the children skylarked around and enjoyed themselves.

It was quite a sight too, when we crossed the river at St. Joe, as there were 640 wagons that crossed. I was about sixteen and a half years old and I drove a wagon with three yoke of oxen from Six-mile Prairie in Iowa, clear through to The Dalles. Before we had traveled many days, we found that we would have to go in smaller trains. They elected my father's brother-in-law, William Jolly, captain of our train. Captain Chapman had been captain of the train before we divided. There were about fifty wagons in our train when we elected William Jolly captain, but some wanted to travel slower, some wanted to go faster, and everybody more or less wanted to boss, so the train kept dwindling down till there were only four wagons left in our train when we got to Whitman station. The people that go across the country now in three or four days on a Pullman, think it must have been a monotonous trip to spend six months on the road from Missouri to the Willamette Valley, but it wasn't, because you never knew what was going to happen from day to day or even from hour to hour. For example, one day I let my young brother drive the oxen while I was attending to something else. He could drive them pretty near as good as I could. My step-mother's brother, Captain William Jolly, thought he was too young to manage the oxen, so Jolly started to drive them. The oxen didn't know him, his voice was rather loud, because he was a preacher, so the oxen got scared, cramped the wagon and tipped it over. This happened just as they were crossing a small stream called Wolf River. Pretty near everything in the wagon got wet, including our corn meal. It mildewed and we had to throw it away. My father was a pretty good provider. He had laid in a supply of corn meal, flour, bacon, brown sugar, rice, beans, coffee and tea and then we had lots of antelope meat and buffalo meat, so we lived pretty well. The result of Captain Jolly tipping our wagon over and spoiling our corn meal was that we had to buy two sacks of ground wheat of

Dr. Marcus Whitman, paying him six dollars a hundred for it.

"We stopped a couple of days with Dr. Whitman. As I told you, there were only four wagons in our train when we got to Whitman's Mission, our wagon, that of Captain Jolly, old man Tobe Brawley and that of Jerry Starr. Jolly and Brawley were both preachers, so they had plenty to discuss with Dr. Whitman, who was also a preacher. The Indians had stolen some of our stock and so Captain Jolly and my father were kind of suspicious of the Indians. The Indians of the Whitman mission were acting rather surly; they had had a lot of measles and a good many of the Indians had died. Captain Jolly and my father both thought it wasn't safe for the Whitmans to stay at the mission that winter and they urged him to come on down to the valley. Dr. Whitman said he couldn't very well move this year, though he was planning to move to The Dalles, where he had bought property. He said several times before the Indians had become restless and surly but he had always been able to talk them out of it and he thought he could do so this time also. He wasn't able to fix up the trouble this time, though, for less than a month after we left, he and his wife and a lot of the others there were killed by the Indians. Whitman was a tolerably heavy-set man, about my size, but better looking. His wife was a large woman and had a rather pleasant voice. She was very polite and agreeable to the emigrants. After visiting the Whitmans for a couple of days, we pulled on to The Dalles where we put our wagons on rafts to float down the Columbia River, while the women and children went in a Hudson Bay batteau. We camped on the Oregon side of the Columbia just at the head of the island across from Fort Vancouver. We camped there six weeks, during which time father looked around to find a good claim to settle on. He finally decided to go to the mouth of the Columbia. We settled on Clatsop Plains, our claim joining

that of Tom Owens. He settled there in 1843. I got well acquainted with Tom and his wife, but I knew the girls best. Diana Owens taught me to dance. She was a fine girl and a perfect lady. Her sister Bethenia, now known as Dr. Owens-Adair, was just the reverse of Diana; she was a harem-scarum tom-boy, up to all sorts of devilment, and she thought she could do anything a boy could, and was just as good and maybe a little better. Tom Owens, her father, was about six feet high. He was well-built and he could lick anybody in that whole country. His wife was not well educated in the line of books but she was one of the smartest women in that country. Another neighbor of ours was William H. Gray. He came to Oregon in 1836. He ran a dairy. Colonel James Taylor loaned him some money to go east and get a flock of sheep. Dr. Gray drove them across the plains and got them as far as Astoria safely. At Astoria he got a scow to take them across the river to his place. Colonel Taylor urged him not to and said: 'If you go across the river with this southwest wind blowing and a storm coming up, and lose your sheep, I'll make you pay for every one of them.' Gray was a man who couldn't stand opposition, so he said he was going across anyway. A squall came up, the river got choppy and the scow filled with water and became unmanageable. He finally got to Chinook Point but his blooded sheep were drowned.

"I got my schooling on Clatsop Plains. I went to school first to Truman Powers and later to Professor Brock. Wilson Morrison's children went to school at the same time I did. John Minto married the oldest of the Morrison girls. Then there were Henry and Billy Gray and Caroline and Mary Gray. Caroline married Jacob Kamm, the steamboat man, and I think Mary married the son of Governor Abernethy. Then there were Clatsop Smith's children, and quite a few others. I never saw the inside of a school house till I was 17 years old.

"Among the pioneers of Clatsop County were William

H. Gray, who came to Oregon in 1836; Mrs. Sophia Munson, a pioneer of 1837; Mrs. Gray, who came in 1838; Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Judson, who came in 1840; J. L. Parish and Miss Philips, who also came in 1840; Mr. and Mrs. Cyrus Olney, also pioneers of 1840; W. W. Raymond, who came the same year; Ann Abel and Mr. and Mrs. Eldridge Trask, who came in 1842; N. E. Eberman; William, John and Diana Hobson; Thomas G. Naylor, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Owens and family, Andrew Wirt, all of whom came in 1843; Alvah and Ruth Condit, Mr. and Mrs. B. C. Kindred, J. W. Moffat, W. Motley, John Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. James Taylor, and Mr. and Mrs. James Welch, all of whom came in 1844; David Ingalls and Rev. Lewis Thompson, who came in 1845; Hiram Carnaham, G. M. Coffenberry, Robert S. McEwan and Mr. and Mrs. Truman P. Powers, who came in 1846; David Burnside, Mr. and Mrs. Conrad Boelling, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Jeffers, Hester Lanphear, Mr. and Mrs. R. W. Morrison, S. T. McKean and Polly Hicks McKean, who came in 1847; Mr. and Mrs. Philip Gearhart, who came in 1848; Mr. and Mrs. John Adair, Ferdinand Ferrill and Mr. and Mrs. David Pease, who came in 1849; Philo Callender, George Davidson, A. W. Ferguson, Captain M. M. Gilman, Joseph D. Higgins, Mr. and Mrs. Mathew McCrary, and Moses Rogers, who came in 1850; David Morgan, J. W. Ross and Charles Stevens, who came in 1852; J. W. Munson, who came in 1853. Among other pioneers who were early settlers on Clatsop Plains were the Elders, Samuel Hall, Joseph D. Holman, Captain Philip Johnson, the Marlins, Mrs. Fanny Montgomery, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Nolen, Mrs. Mary Ross, Soloman Smith, Robert Shortess, Jerry Tuller, Luke and Lewis Taylor, and Mr. Tibbitts.

"We settled on Clatsop Plains not long before Christmas in 1847," said Mr. Harrell. "In the spring of 1849 father moved to a place on the Lewis and Clark River, not far from Carlos Shane's place. Father built a sawmill

there, which we ran for eight years. Like lots of other young fools, I got restless and so I hoofed it across country to Corvallis. Here I ran across two men named Moore and Fell. Fell had married Moore's niece. They were buying cattle throughout the valley, to drive to the California gold mines, and when I tackled them for a job, they put me on as a driver and furnished me a mule to ride. We went to Yreka where they sold the cattle, paid me off, and I went to mining. Moore and Fell did pretty well. After a few years they had made a stake and decided to go to their old home in the East. They went by way of the Isthmus of Panama, but the boat they were on was wrecked. Among the last to leave the boat were these two men. The little boat they were in was tipped over and they were both drowned. Mrs. Fell with her two children were saved, and she managed to put her small hand-trunk in the boat with her. It had in it $12,000 in gold dust.

I followed placer mining for five years at Yreka. It's a hard game to break away from, particularly if you are mining in pockety ground. Some days I'd strike a pocket and clean up a hundred dollars, and then for a week I wouldn't make more than wages.

"In 1859 I came back to the Willamette Valley and settled on a place near Forest Grove. I stayed at the Grove till 1864, when I went to the Eagle Creek mines in eastern Oregon. I mined there for the next seven years. Time kept drifting along and I kept drifting with it, till I found I was 48 years old and I figured that if I was going to get married, I'd better be getting at it, so on April 21, 1878, I was married. I was married about ten miles north of Hillsboro on the place joining Joe Meek's place. Our first child, Hollis Eric Harrell, was born on May 15, 1879. He works for the Union Pacific Railroad Company here in Portland. Our next child was a girl, Ona Myrtle Harrell, who was born on September 7, 1885. I have lived in quite a number of places in the

West. First I lived on Clatsop Plains till 1849, then on the Lewis & Clark River, then at Yreka, California, then at Forest Grove, then east of the mountains on Eagle Creek for seven years. From there I went to the Cowlitz River where I ran a stock ranch for ten or twelve years. Then I took a homestead on Elk Creek near Seaside. There were lots of big bands of elk there when I took up my homestead. My homestead was two miles back from the ocean and was covered with a heavy growth of spruce. I lived on it five years and sold it for $2,000, but I found out afterwards that the company that bought it said there was at least $10,000 worth of spruce on it. From my homestead near Seaside, I moved to Tigardsville, where I farmed on a 40-acre place for about five years. My wife died in 1911. I sold my place at Tigardsville and came to live in Portland. I will be 93 on my next birthday, and for the last year or two I have been taking things a little easy, for I have worked pretty hard for 75 years and I feel that I am entitled to ease up a little now."

JAMES DOUGLAS, CHIEF FACTOR OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, FORT VANCOUVER, TO GOVERNOR GEORGE ABERNETHY, OREGON CITY

Fort Vancouver 31st. Dec 1847

George Abernethy Esqre
Governor

Sir

A rumour having been in circulation for some days past, that it is General Gilliam's intention to levy contributions on the Hudsons Bay Company's property, for the purpose of compelling the equipment of the troops ordered out in your late proclamation for the intended operations against the Indians of the interior, I feel it my duty to communicate with you frankly on the subject; as it is most important in the present critical state of our Indian relations that there should be an entire absence of distrust, and that the most perfect unanimity should exist among the whites of every class.

From my personal knowledge of General Gilliam and his highly respectable character I should be the last person to believe him capable of committing an outrage, which may prove so distrastous [sic] in its immediate and remoter consequences, to the peace and best interests of this country; and at the same time, as the representative of a powerful British Association it becomes my duty, to take instant measures for the protection of their property, until I receive, through you, a distinct disavowal of any such intention, as I have herein stated.

Difficulties of that nature were certainly not contemplated by us, when we dispatched a large part of our effective force, into the interior for the purpose of rescuing the unfortunate women and children, the survivors of the massacre at Wiillat poo, who remained in the hands of the Indians;—it was never suspected that our establishments would be exposed to insults or injury,

from American citizens, while we were braving the fury of the Indians for their protection.

Such a proceeding would in fact be so inconsistent with every principle of honor and sound policy, that I cannot believe any attempt of the kind will be made; but I trust this explanation will satisfactorily account for any unusual precautions observed in the present arrangements of this establishment.

Trusting that this note will be noticed at your earliest convenience, I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedt. humbl Servant

JAMES DOUGLAS,
C. F. H. B. Co.y.

(Reprinted from *The Friend,* Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands)

OREGON MISSION

Under this caption, *The Friend,* published in Honolulu, February 14, 1846, the following:

We have recently been gratified in receiving a friendly epistle from a missionary brother, the Rev. C. Eells, residing at Tahimakain [Tshimakain] near Fort Colville, in the Oregon Territory. The Missionaries in that portion of the Indian country, are laboring under the patronage of the A. B. C. F. Missions. In the former part of his communication he speaks of the inconvenience of not receiving letters from friends for months and years. Under date of October 10th, 1845, he writes as follows:—

Our letters from the States are often from eighteen months to two years on the way. We have just received communications from Boston, up to November last. My last file of papers previous to this, was nearly two years old, when received.

The history of this Mission may be compared to alternate sunshine, and cloudy weather. Fond hopes and pleasing anticipations cherished, only to experience sad disappointment. However, if such a checkered scene produces an effect to make us look away from earth and earthly things, an important object will have been accomplished. Soon after the date of my last, this station was, to human appearance, unusually promising, but soon after, and suddenly there was an unfavorable change. During the winter, the school for natives was small and finally run out. The summer a little more favorable than the preceding.

The latter part of the last winter, and spring, was a peculiarly trying period to the two families connected with the south branch of the mission. More than a year ago, a party of Indians composed of those chiefly about Dr. Whitman's station, and Walla Walla, went to California for cattle. Among the number was a young man, son of Walla Walla, chief, who had been educated at the Methodist Mission School. Either his own improper con-

duct or that of his father, or most likely that of both, caused him to be shot dead by Americans in California. When the party returned, (about the middle of winter) a very great excitement was produced.

Whether or not, there was any serious intention of taking the life of Dr. Whitman, or Mr. Spalding, I do not feel prepared to say, but there was certainly much talk of doing so. The excitement has passed off, without any particular violence, and the other day Dr. W. informed me that apparently, there is at present a friendly and pleasing state of feeling existing toward himself, and a disposition to cultivate friendly intercourse with Americans. A great number of emigrants this year. Much love and esteem to your family, in which my wife most cordially unites.

Yours truly, C. EELLS.

Under date of October 15, 1846, *The Friend* publishes the following:

By the arrival of the "Brooklyn," Richardson, 15 days from Santa Barbara, and 21 from Monterey, important news has been received from California. A file of the "Californian" from August 21, to September 19, has been received. From its columns and other sources we present our readers with the following summary of intelligence:

The Indian difficulties are somewhat serious. A party of the Walla Walla Indians went from Oregon to trade in California, a distance of 700 or 800 miles. While there in a predatory excursion, they took some horses and mules from Mexicans. The Mexicans demanded their restitution. The affair was argued at General Sutter's residence, and he endeavored to pacify the parties. One Cook, finding that the Indians had taken a mule of his, demanded that it be restored. Delay ensued—he took justice in his own hands and shot dead a Walla Walla chief, named Elija, who was educated at the Methodist Mission in Oregon. These occurrences have given rise to much excitement. "The Indians," writes a correspondent

at Monterey, September 20, "have besieged Sutter's Fort, and demanded that the perpetrator of the murder should be punished by the laws of the country. They number, I understand, about 2000 warriors. I have no doubt but everything will be amicably arranged. Cook, the person who killed the Indian, is reported to have given himself up to the authorities, and is now on board one of the vessels of war."

Commodore Stockton has issued a proclamation of war and declared all the western ports of Mexico south of San Diego under blockade.

Neutral vessels were given twenty days to leave.

The Commodore has issued the following circular:—

"You are hereby advised that a war exists between the United States of North America and Mexico, and are cautioned to guard against an attack from Mexican Privateers, and all vessels under the Mexican flag.

"The Territory of California has been taken possession of by the forces under my command, and now belongs to the United States, and you will find safe anchorage and protection in the harbor of San Francisco during any season of the year."

A REVIEW

(Reprinted from *The American Historical Review*, April, 1923)

History of Oregon, by CHARLES HENRY CAREY. (Chicago and Portland: The Pioneer Publishing Company. 1922. Pp., 1016.)

The author of this book is a learned lawyer of scholarly tastes and literary accomplishments. The portion of the book which is marked most unmistakably by the characteristics of his own pen is in style not always simple but invariably dignified and often distinguished.

The work may be divided into two unequal and dissimilar parts. First, we have the early romantic period of Northwestern history terminated by the organization of the Territory of Oregon. Second, the—as here conceived—more pedestrian or commonplace history of the development of the state of Oregon down to the present times. Thirty-one chapters are assigned to the first part, thirteen to the second; and, while on the basis of the relative number of pages, 496 and 400 respectively, the disparity of interest does not seem so great, still a reading of the book will show, I think, that at least three-fourths of the author's personal interest was lavished upon the early period. That part was actually written, while much of the balance bears indubitable evidence of having been compiled by other hands, and some of the compilation gives an impression of the materials having been considerably diluted to fill a prescribed amount of space. Yet, much of the material thus assembled is both interesting and valuable.

Thus the real contribution to Oregon history is found in the first part. Mr. Carey has been a discriminating student of the dramatic episodes and mooted questions with which early Northwestern history fairly bristles.

About these he writes with a firm, clear hand, as one who has been not merely a critical reader of other men's conclusions, but also as to some features a genuine investigator. And he gives us a well-rounded story. Beginning with a somewhat concise description of the land itself, he presents next a sympathetic account of the original inhabitants and then plunges into the history of discovery. The era of the fur-trader, the "Nootka Sound" controversy, the voyage of Captain Vancouver, the Boston Men, Gray's discovery, and John Ledyard constitute themes of a second distinctive group of chapters. A third deals with Jefferson, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and Astoria. The fourth group of chapters deals with the British fur companies, the reign of Dr. McLoughlin, also American fur-traders and mountain men. The fifth group notes missionary influences, the missionary settlement, the Whitman martyrs. The concluding cycle of chapters is on the beginnings of government and the determination of boundaries, the last chapter being a compenduous essay of forty-four pages.

In the portion of the book just described, Judge Carey has demonstrated his right to be counted among the historians. His plan is comprehensive, his research apparently adequate. The treatment accorded diverse topics discloses a good sense of perspective and a discriminating historical judgment.

Slight errors could no doubt be found, were that type of criticism deemed worth while. But, on the whole, considering its extent, the volume (in the portion under review) seems singularly free from such blemishes. One must, however, query the statement (p. 357) that Whitman's "choice of the southern route alone had made his trip at that season possible." Also, I am aware of no evidence to support the observation (p. 364) that Whitman announced his intention to return in the spring and aid in piloting the immigration. The author cites no evidence for this statement; and some other statements

likely to cause comment are left unsupported. Yet, the book is far more carefully documented than is usual with works of this nature. Herein the author reveals his legal and juristic habit of mind.

Mr. Carey declines responsibility for certain volumes of biographies which are to be published in conjunction with this book, the whole to be sold apparently on the subscription plan.

JOSEPH SCHAFER

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A HISTORY OF HIGH SCHOOL LEGISLATION IN OREGON TO 1910*

By CHARLES ABNER HOWARD

Introductory

The purpose of this paper is to present the development of the legal status of high schools in Oregon to the close of the administration of J. H. Ackerman as state superintendent of public instruction in 1910, and to point out the influence of legislation on the development of the secondary department of the public school system of the state. The subject divides itself into three parts which will be presented in the following order:

First, conditions and influences that prevented high school legislation previous to 1900;

Second, the development of public opinion favorable to high school legislation which finally resulted in the enactment of high school laws of 1901;

Third, the period of high school organization through constructive legislation, 1901 to 1910.

I. Adverse Conditions and Influences

The Oregon School Code adopted in 1878 contains the following provisions as Section 9 of Duties of Directors:

*This paper was submitted in part fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Oregon.

"To maintain at least six months in each year, in all districts where the number of persons between 4 and 20 years of age is 1,000, as shown by the clerk's yearly report, a high school, wherein shall be taught, in addition to the common school branches, such other branches as the directors of the district may prescribe."

This is the first legislation enacted in Oregon having to do with high schools and no other law was passed dealing with secondary education in the public schools until 1901. The legislature of that year enacted two laws which became the basis of the high school system which has since grown up within the state. Since Portland was the only Oregon city with 1,000 children of school age in 1878 and for many years thereafter, the law of that year had no general effect on public secondary education throughout the state. Effective school legislation may therefore be said to have had its beginning in 1901. However, several high schools were organized before the specific legislation of that year and some discussion of the legal status of these, together with an exposition of the conditions and influences that prevented the more rapid development of the secondary section of the public school system will constitute the first part of this paper. This part of the discussion will be brought down to 1900, by which date opposition to public high schools had ceased to be effective.

As has been stated, Portland was the only district in the state with 1,000 children of school age in 1878 when the law was passed requiring such districts to maintain high schools. By 1890 Astoria was the only other city whose school population had reacher this figure, and it was not until 1900 that Baker, Pendleton, and Salem had also reached it.[1] The direct effect of this legislation was

[1]Statistics showing the school census by districts were not available. The school population is here calculated by dividing the total population by four. R. L. Polk and Company are authority for this method of calculation.

therefore almost negligible so far as the state in general was concerned.

High school organization must wait upon the development of elementary grades and such development in Oregon was slow. Not only were there few large communities, but the state as a whole was sparsely settled until immigration began to speed up about the year 1900. Keeping in mind that Oregon is a state of few large communities, even with its present population of 783,389, we can realize the situation in 1860 when the population was only 52,465, in 1880 when there were only 174,768 persons within the boundaries of the state, and in 1890 when the population was 317,704, considerably less than half the present figure.[2] Such a state of affairs as is here pointed out is not conducive even to the thorough grade school organization which always forms the basis for the establishing of the more advanced departments. Wherever a group of settlers lived close enough together so that their children could be collected at some central point, a school district was organized and a teacher was employed. Money was scarce and the school term was correspondingly short.[3] From 1873, the earliest year for which statistics are available, until 1885, the average school term throughout the state was a little less than ninety days. As late as 1895, the average school term was only five and four-tenths months. Even of these weak school districts, there were comparatively few. In 1873 there were 642. This number had increased to 1,007 by 1880 and to 1,693 by 1890. In this connection, State Superintendent E. B. McElroy states in his report of 1889 that many of the districts were very large, "often embracing within their boundaries from fifteen to twenty-five square miles, while the average for the entire state is not under nine square miles. It is evident that one

[2]United States Census.

[3]*S. C. Simpson*—Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1874. p. 5.

obstacle to the best school work in these large districts is the great distance to be traveled by the children * * * * * All the difficulties in the way of an efficient and permanent school system will be removed only when we have secured a large number of people, thus making our school districts more populous and bringing the boundaries within smaller compass."[4]

One of the principal needs during the early history of the state was legal provision for adequate educational leadership. Until 1873, the governor was ex-officio Superintendent of Public Instruction and the burden of other important duties left him very little time for educational matters. The different counties of the state were, therefore, practically independent of each other in school matters. Even within the counties, adequate educational direction was lacking. County superintendents did not receive sufficient pay to justify their spending all their time at the work. In 1874 the annual salaries ranged from fifty to five hundred dollars, only five counties paying the latter figure.[5] In 1885 the average annual salary for this important office was $370.[6] As late as 1898 this average had reached only $514.[7] This means that practically all the county superintendents were engaged in regular teaching or in some other employment to eke out a living, and that few, however well endowed with qualities of leadership, could spend sufficient time at the job to properly organize and supervise the schools of a county.

This lack of leadership meant that the school work of the state hung like a dead weight upon the shoulders of the state superintendent. Only a man of suerhuman energy could be expected to bring about rapid improvement

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[4]*E. B. McElroy*—Eighth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon. 1889. pp. 111-112.

[5]First Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1874. p. 86.

[6]Sixth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1885. p. 69.

[7]Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1898. p. 7.

of the situation under existing conditions. The early state superintendents seemed to feel helpless in the face of the situation and went about the state evangelizing instead of doing something definite to improve conditions. A course of study would undoubtedly have provided a basis for improvement but none was drafted for the state until 1900.[8] Previous to that date the regulations of the State Board of Education specified the subjects that might be taught but no effort was made to grade the work.[9] State Superintendent McElroy felt the need of a graded course of study but it seems not to have occured to him to draft one. In his report of 1891 he recommended, "That each county superintendent be required to prepare and establish a graded course of study for county schools, and that each board of directors be required to adopt such a course of study."[10] There is no evidence that this added burden was ever placed upon these poorly paid servants of the people.

Added to the fact that the country was sparsely settled and without educational leadership is the further consideration that the educational ideals of the rank and file of the early settlers were not high. These pioneers came largely from the raw states of the Middle West where high educational standards had not yet become established and where public schools were little known. Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee were so largely represented among the early immigrants as to shape the form of local government and to color the educational outlook.[11] There were, to be sure, a few among them who recognized the value of higher education. Such men were Jason Lee,

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[8]Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1900. p. 199.

[9]Twelfth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1897. p. 132. Rule xxxlx. This rule appears unchanged in each biennial report from 1876 to 1897.

[10]*E. B. McElroy*—Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1891. p. 272.

[11]*Strong* (Frank) *and Schafer* (Joseph)—The Government of the American People. p. 29.

J. H. Wilbur, T. F. Campbell and Bishop Thomas F. Scott. But they thought of "higher education" as a matter to be carried on by the church or by private enterprise. Others there were who vigorously and persistently attacked every effort at public education beyond the common school.[12]

Probably the strongest opponent of public secondary education was Harvey W. Scott. As editorial writer of the *Oregonian* from 1870 to 1910, he wielded a tremendous influence in the direction of his conviction in this matter. Mr. Scott was a type of the intellectual aristocrat. A man of fine mind, he could not but perceive the intellectual inferiority of the masses; of unbounded energy and with an education secured by his own efforts, it was but natural that he should assume that those who could not work out their own educational salvation were not of sufficient value to the state to justify the expense of saving them. The following editorial from his pen clearly expresses the opinion, not only of the editor himself, but of a considerable group of influential men of the time.

CURE FOR DRONES[13]

"* * * * * It is an axiom of those principles of political economy which are professed by all enlightened nations that taxation, however cunningly devised, is ultimately paid by the laboring classes. The real estate owners and the owners of taxable personal property are, after all, nothing but 'middle men' in the taxation business. The laboring classes are the real sufferers for the extravagant expenditures in the name of free education, which would otherwise seek investment in organized industries that would afford their children employment and make their households happy; it is the laboring classes who ultimately pay the bills that enable the school book

[12]Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1880. p. 63.

[13]The *Oregonian* of Portland, Oregon, April 16, 1879. This editorial and others referred to unless otherwise indicated, are listed in the "Index of the Editorial Writings of Harvey W. Scott" prepared by Leslie M. Scott. This index is in manuscript in the office of Leslie M. Scott, Yeon Building, Portland, Oregon.

rings to ring changes upon text books used in the public schools; it is the laboring classes who ultimately pay for teaching music and foreign languages to the thousands of people who afterwards become drones on society. The only republican idea in education is to teach people enough to take care of themselves and keep out of jail; but the cunning of those whose aim is to live without work has dazzled the bone and sinew of the country into the support of a system which gives them double toil in supporting their own children as drones. * * * * *

"The conclusion is this: Give every child a good common school English education at public expense, and then stop. There have been two presidents of the United States who have received less aid than this in their school education; if any want more, let those who dance pay the fiddler. This is the cure for drones. It is the way, too, to make the public schools a public blessing instead of allowing them to develop into nurseries of imbecility and idleness."

In 1880 the attacks on public high schools in general and upon the Portland high school in particular, became so severe that at the annual school meeting of that year a committee was appointed to investigate the school and report at an adjourned meeting on July 12 of the same year. As a preliminary to its investigation, the committee summed up the main objections as follows:

"1. The high school is not a proper part of the system of public education.

"2. Foreign languages, higher mathematics and several branches of natural science, so-called, should not be taught in the public schools.

"3. Those who desire for their children an education beyond the public schools should pay for it."

The committee met these objections squarely and exonerated the high school from various charges made against it. The very length and vigor of the report are indications of the danger in which the school had been placed by the force of the attack.[14]

[14]Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1880. pp. 63-72. The committee referred to consisted of

The attitude indicated by these attacks on public high schools would be expected to meet with ardent opposition from those who occupied positions of prominence in the public education of the state. There is no evidence, however, that this was the case. On the contrary, one of the principal speakers at the meeting of the State Teachers Association held at Portland in 1896 consumed a considerable portion of his time in an argument against public education beyond the "common school."[15] Not only was the speech delivered, but it was printed in the biennial report of the state superintendent the following year. Apparently the state superintendent was not particularly aroused by the following statements quoted from the address or he would not have printed it in his report:

"Private property is justly taxed for public school purposes, not to make drones in society, educated dudes or smart rascals, but in the vital interests of the state and nation, to make intelligent, upright and useful American citizens. To do more than this I believe to be superfluous, unwarranted and unjust to the taxpayers, not in the interests of good morals or the nation's welfare, and in a vast majority of cases, injurious to the individual recipient. * * * * * * * Nothing should be done to extend the curriculum of the public schools beyond that of giving the student a well rounded common school education adapted to the requirements of the latter part of the nineteenth century."[16]

This attitude on the part of influential citizens had

G. H. Atkinson, Wm. Kapus, C. A. Dolph, A. Waldman, Wm. H. Wadhams, Chas. E. Sitton, and Rosa F. Burrell. The committee made a careful investigation and came forth with an extended report which not only exonerated the schools from the charges, but went so far as to set forth vigorous arguments for the high school as an integral part of the public school system. The report of the committee is printed in full in the State Superintendent's Report.

[15]"Common school" as used by the laity, means the grades below those ordinarily included in high school. It is this meaning that is intended wherever the term is used in this paper.

[16]*Dr. George H. Chance*—The Preparation in Our Schools for Good Citizenship. Twelfth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1897. pp. 160-162. Dr. Chance was a Portland dentist.

the effect of postponing the general organizing of high schools in two ways; directly by keeping down the sentiment in favor of them, and indirectly by encouraging the opening of private and denominational academies and colleges to meet the demand for education of a higher grade than that offered in the common schools. By 1874 when the first report of the state superintendent was published, there were fourteen colleges and academies in the state.[17] The colleges all conducted preparatory departments. In most of them this department had the bulk of the enrollment. By 1895 this number had increased to forty-seven. Though all of these except the State University, the Agricultural College, and the State Normals, were independent institutions, they were generally regarded as a part of the educational system. Each was given space in the biennial report of the state superintendent to enumerate its courses and to set forth its advantages. The report of 1878 gives thirty-nine of its one hundred seventeen pages for this purpose. It is rather significant that this advertising of the private institutions at public expense stopped abruptly upon the induction of J. H. Ackerman into office as state superintendent in 1899, and that the first substantial high school legislation was enacted just two years after he became head of the Oregon school system.

In spite of the lack of specific legislation to support them, many communities had made a small beginning before 1900 by offering some work beyond the eighth grade. The biennial report of the state superintendent for 1898 lists Astoria, Baker City, Portland, and The Dalles as having high schools, and Albany, Ashland and Salem as having "additional grades."[18] The presumption would be that the first four offered four full years. However, this presumption does not seem to be entirely cor-

[17]Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1874. pp. 102-123.

[18]Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1898. p. 154.

rect, for the report of 1900 lists The Dalles as offering only two years work above the eighth grade.[19] The report of 1900 gives the first complete tabulation of public high school statistics for Oregon to be found.[20] It includes fifty-nine schools which claimed to be doing at least one year of high school work. However, in twenty-nine of these, the school year was less than nine months, so the amount of high school instruction was probably negligible. Of the remaining thirty, Astoria, Baker, Eugene and Portland were the only ones having at least nine month of school and a high school course of four years.

It has already been pointed out that up to the year 1900, Astoria, Baker City, Pendleton, Portland and Salem were the only cities that came under the high school law of 1878. Portland had established a high school in 1869 and each of these other cities with the exception of Astoria had installed advanced classes before the school census had reached the thousand mark as called for in the law. These larger cities as well as all the smaller ones listed in the 1900 report as having high schools, had gone beyond the law in this matter. They were constantly subject to attack as having no legal foundation. Their situation was thus made unstable in spite of the fact that the courts would undoubtedly have upheld a school district in levying a tax for high school purposes if a case had been brought before them. In the famous case of Kalamazoo, Michigan, this point had been tested out and such a tax had been declared constitutional, though there had been no specific high school law authorizing such a tax.[21] The court's decision that a tax for high school purposes was constitutional was later concurred in by the supreme courts of Illinois and other states.[22] Such

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[19]Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1900. p. 44.

[20]Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1900. pp. 42-44.

[21]30 Michigan. 69.

[22]*H. D. Sheldon*—State Systems of High School Control. p. 6.

attacks as were made upon these Oregon high schools from the legal point of view, while they could not have met with ultimate success in destroying these institutions, were nevertheless a hampering influence that greatly retarded the growth of the schools in some cases and prevented their establishment in other communities. Specific legislation was badly needed if public secondary education was to prosper.

Before proceeding with the consideration of those influences which were gradually bringing the public into a favorable attitude toward public high schools it has seemed desirable to make a comparison of secondary school enrollment in Oregon with that of five other representative states, and it is for the purpose of such a comparison that the following table has been prepared. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were selected as representing two types of eastern states, Kansas and Indiana are fairly representative of the middle west, and Washington was selected as typical of the Pacific coast. It was believed that nothing of value would be added in the way of comparison by including any of the southern states. While we have under consideration at this point, the situation as it existed previous to the legislation of 1901, a tabulation has been prepared for 1910 for reference in the later part of the discussion. The logical place to introduce it seemed to be at this point along with the tabulations for 1890 and 1900.

ENROLLMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS[23]

	Public High Schools	Enrollment in Public High Schools	Private Secondary Schools	Enrollment in Private Secondary Schools	Enrollment both Private and Public Secondary Schools	Secondary Students per 1000 Population	Per cent Total Sec. Enrollm't in Public High Schools
1890							
1. Massachusetts ..	187	19,467	75	5,100	24,567	10.97	79
2. Kansas	104	6,362	16	687	7,049	4.94	90
**3. Oregon ..... **	**9**	**566**	**17**	**848**	**1,414**	**4.50**	**40**
4. Indiana	117	8,560	18	955	9,515	4.34	90
5. Washington	11	693	18	791	1,484	4.25	47
6. Pennsylvania	116	12,417	105	7,347	19,764	3.76	63
United States.....	2,773	211,596	1,714	98,400	309,996	4.95	69
1900							
1. Massachusetts ..	241	38,314	96	5,935	44,359	15.77	87
2. Indiana	390	26,755	29	2,446	29.401	11.60	91
3. Kansas	223	15,638	12	841	16,479	11.02	95
**4. Oregon ..... **	**34**	**2,639**	**16**	**832**	**3,471**	**8.39**	**75**
5. Washington	74	3,692	15	643	4,335	8.37	85
6. Pennsylvania	391	32,438	137	11,236	43,674	6.93	74
United States.....	6,318	541,730	1,892	108,226	649,956	8.53	83
1910							
1. Massachusetts ..	224	58,586	95	7,462	66,048	19.62	89
2. Washington	161	20,109	21	910	21,019	17.54	96
3. Indiana	579	43,917	29	2,030	45,947	17.01	95
4. Kansas	363	27,594	22	992	28,586	16.90	96
**5. Oregon ..... **	**115**	**9,879**	**19**	**1,147**	**11,026**	**16.53**	**90**
6. Pennsylvania	827	69,691	123	10,810	80,501	10.50	87
United States....	10,234	984,677	1,979	130,649	1,115,326	12.13	88

In this table, the states are arranged in the order of number of secondary students per 1,000 population. The figures show a much better state of affairs in Oregon so

[23]The figures on number of secondary schools and enrollment are taken from reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. The number of students per 100 population were figured on the basis of the United States Census.

far as actual secondary shool attendance is concerned than is generally supposed to have existed, for in this group of six representative states, Oregon stood third in 1890, and fourth in 1900. The figures for Oregon are almost identical with those of the country at large for each of these years. Referring to the last column, it will be observed that the number of secondary students attending public high schools in Oregon in 1890 was only forty per cent of the total, considerably lower than any other state in the group and twenty-nine per cent below that of the country at large. By 1900 the figure in the per cent column had increased to seventy-five but was still far below that of any other state except Pennsylvania. The private schools were actually taking care of the situation though the number of public high schools was small. However, as the competition between the public and the private schools became sharp, the latter disintegrated too rapidly for the former to meet the situation. This resulted in Oregon's slipping back in secondary school attendances as compared with other states. Note that Oregon stood third among the six states in 1890, fourth in 1900, and fifth in 1910.

II. The Development of Public Opinion Favorable to High Schools

Conditions and influences favorable to high school legislation and which finally resulted in the enactment of the high school laws of 1901 will now be considered. During the long period while public secondary education in Oregon, except in a few larger centers, was without legal sanction, there were those who, from time to time, lifted up their voices in favor of this department. The attitude of Harvey W. Scott as editor of the *Oregonian,* in opposition to public high schools, has been pointed out. It should be noted, however, that others connected with this great daily took a different view. One of these was Aaron Bushweiler, well known in Portland as a news writer of the seventies. An article from his pen appears

in the *Oregonian* of May 5, 1869, about two weeks after the opening of the first public high school classes in that city, in which, after general commendatory remarks concerning the new educational venture, he says:

"Already one of the beneficial effects of such an institution is visible in the influence it has upon the public schools themselves. Such is the emulation it promotes that scholars are continually applying for admission who cannot be admitted because they are not up to the required grade, but return with renewed animation to reach the desired point of advancement. * * * * * * We congratulate the citizens of Portland as well as the projectors of the plan on this new and essential element in the intellectual wants of the city, wherein is secured free of special charge, and entirely at public expense as full and thorough an academic course as can be had in the city and perhaps in the state."

Evidence of opposition to the public high school from those interested in private institutions is apparent in Bushweiler's closing paragraph:

"We bespeak for the high school nothing that shall derogate in the least from the other schools and academies of the city, but we wish the success of all. They are entitled to the highest consideration and most earnest support of our citizens. They are true exponents of the popular mind and are well entitled to the liberal support of the taxpayers."

A friendly attitude occasionally crept into the editorial page also but, needless to say, not from the pen of Harvey W. Scott. An editorial of this nature in the *Oregonian* of January 1, 1878, closes as follows:

"Objections to free secondary education lie, if of any force, equally against free primary education. Either the state has no right to interfere in education of any kind, or the degree of that education must be defined, not arbitrarily, but by the standard of popular intelligence. * * * * * Any argument contemplating free education to the point of a high school and then excluding this, can, we think, be proved inconsistent and illogical."

Undoubtedly the most effective piece of work done in the cause of public secondary education during this early period was that of the committee appointed in 1880 to investigate the charges made against the Portland schools and particularly against the high school. This committee was appointed at the school meeting in March of that year. The schools were being subjected to a vigorous attack led by Harvey W. Scott of the *Oregonian.* The situation had, therefore, attracted a great deal of attention so that the report of the committee, when it was finally presented, gained wide circulation and was read with keen interest. The evidences which it showed of having been prepared after careful, first-hand investigation, its obvious sincerity, and the firm hand with which it swept aside the most frequently repeated criticisms, resulted in settling for all time the question as to whether or not the high school was to continue as a part of the Portland school system. It also had its effect in creating a more favorable attitude toward public high schools throughout the state. It was printed in full in the biennial report of the state superintendent through which it came into the hands of all the members of the state legislature as well as of many school people. This forceful defense of the Portland schools and particularly of the high school covers eight pages of the state superintendent's report and would be read with interest by any student of Oregon's educational history who desires to get the atmosphere and smell the powder of the Portland school controversy of over four decades ago.[24]

The growth of the Portland high school was very slow during the first few years of its existence, on account of the general opposition to it and the social stigma that was attached to attendance at a free high school.[25] The enrollment was forty-five on the date of opening in April,

[24]Fourth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1880. pp. 64-72.

[25]*Oregonian.* April 13, 1919, Section 1, p. 14. The private school students taunted those who attended the public high school by calling

1869, and had increased to only 140 by 1880. However, 1890 showed an enrollment of 263 and from that year, the school grew rapidly both in enrollment and in general favor. In 1895 the enrollment was 685 and by 1900 it had reached 860.[26] In the meantime, though the city had grown rapidly, the private secondary schools had just about held their own. Their total enrollment for 1880 was 388; for 1899, 273; for 1900, 377. The figures for 1880 probably include some pupils below secondary grade. By 1900, more and more of the younger men who had come into leadership in Portland were products of the public high school and relatively fewer were graduates of the private institutions. The Portland high school had over 1000 graduates previous to 1900 while many others had attended the school for a year or more.[27] These men and women served to leaven the lump which had weighed so heavily in its opposition to a general system of high schools for the state.

From the time of the establishing of the office of state superintendent of public instruction in 1873, the state board of education had assumed that some measure of secondary education should be a part of the public school system of the state. On the basis of this assumption, text-

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them "free school bums" and shouting to them: "My father pays for your education."

[26]The following tabulation is made up from figures taken from the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education and the Reports of the Public Schools of Portland, Oregon. The tabulation is imperfect on account of the fact that figures showing the enrollment in the private schools were not available for every year.

Year	Enrollment Portland H. S.	Secondary Enrollment Portland Private Schools
1869	45	
1876	137	
1880	140	388*
1890	263	273
1895	685	
1900	860	377
1905	1094	
1910	2387	

*Probably includes some elementary pupils.

[27]Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Public Schools of Portland, Oregon. 1900-1901. pp. 47-66.

books had been selected for some high school subjects, in addition to those chosen for the grammar school branches. The following appears among the Rules and Regulations of the State Board of Education printed in 1874:

"In high schools and other schools of advanced grade, the following named studies together with such others as the directors may prescribe may be taught in addition to those above mentioned (the common school branches), to-wit: Higher Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, General History (Advanced), Composition, Physiology, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, Bookkeeping, and Science of Government (optional)."[28]

For twenty-six years this regulation stood unchanged except for the addition of Hygiene and Vocal Music in 1887,[29] Astronomy and Geology in 1891,[30] and Latin and Physical Geography in 1900.[31] This meager statement at least gave official sanction to any efforts by school boards to establish high school grades. However, the state superintendents as well as other educators of the state realized that, if a system of high schools was to be built, it must be founded on something more substantial than the regulation of a state board. State Superintendent Irwin voiced the general sentiment of school men in the following recommendation to the legislature in his biennial report of 1898:

"The law should be so amended and made definite in its statements that any city or town may be authorized to establish a regular high school, of four grades or less, providing the legal voters vote to establish the same and will vote the estimated amount to sustain such a school * * * * * *."[32]

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[28]Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1874. p. 34.

[29]Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1887. p. 24.

[30]Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1891. p. 146.

[31]Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1900. p. 69.

[32]Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1898. p. 228.

The year previous to the publication of the report containing the above recommendation, the board of regents had raised the standard of admission to the University. The sub-freshman department had previously accepted all applicants who showed any sort of intellectual promise regardless of specific preparation.[33] At the regent's meeting in February, 1897, it was decided to require at least two years of work above the eighth grade for admission to this department. If this new standard was to be maintained, the state must have high schools in which the necessary preparation might be made. In public addresses as well as in his printed reports, President C. H. Chapman threw his influence back of the move for definite high school legislation.[34]

At the session of the Oregon legislature in 1899, an attempt was made to have a school code adopted that would unify the school laws and give Oregon an educational system in the place of the unorganized group of schools that were endeavoring to serve the educational needs of the state at that time. This code, known as the Daly Bill, from the fact that it was presented by Senator John M. Daly of Benton County, included provisions for the organization of high schools in communities where voters desired them. The Daly Bill was the most talked of measure that came before the legislature at that session.[35] It proposed, among other things, to change the system of textbook adoptions and to cut out about twenty-

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[33]The requirements for sub-freshman admission are set forth in the catalog of the University for 1896 as follows:

"1. All graduates from reputable schools where the eighth grade branches are completed, are admitted without examination.

"2. Persons holding teachers' certificates are admitted without examination.

"3. Other applicants must pass written examinations covering the topics specified below:"

The topics listed are Arithmetic, Geography, United States History, Mathematical Geography, English Grammar, and English Composition. The work to be covered in each subject is set forth.

[34]Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1898. pp. 86-88.

[35]Files of the *Oregonian* for January and February, 1899.

five private and denominational schools and colleges from the privilege of granting teachers' certificates to their graduates without examination. After a short fight, the bill passed the House. In the Senate, so much discussion ensued that, by the time one-fourth of the code had been adopted, clause by clause, it became apparent that it would be impossible to finish the task, so a motion was carried to strike out the remainder. The high school provision was among the sections eliminated. This section did not come up for discussion on the floor of the senate but there was a strong undercurrent of opposition to it and friends of the measure were of the opinion that it would have been killed if it had come to a vote.[36]

From newspaper accounts of the attempt at school legislation in 1899 and the discussions that ensued, there is scant mention of the fact that the state had a superintendent of public instruction whose voice should be heard in the matter. A man had just stepped into that office at the opening of the legislative session, but neither the legislators nor the general public had yet discovered it. That man was J. H. Ackerman, the organizer, to whose capable hands came the task of giving shape to Oregon's school system.

Mr. Ackerman was particularly well fitted for the task which lay before him. He had had normal school training and was a thoughtful student and a careful observer of education in its broader aspects, thus filling in the gap that lack of university training would otherwise have left vacant. His range of experience had been broad and successful. He had been a high school principal, principal of a large grade school building in a city system, city superintendent and superintendent of Oregon's most populous county. Most of his work had been in Oregon, so that Oregon conditions and Oregon needs were familiar to him. He was of large physique and of commanding presence. He was clear and forceful in

[36] *Oregonian,* February 6, 1899. p. 3.

public address. He commanded respect for his opinions. His stable character and steady trustworthiness gained for him the unwavering confidence of men that knew him. He was a good politician. He conducted a careful campaign of education in preparation for each progressive measure which he proposed. The enormity of his legislative task did not arouse his impatience to the point of losing all by asking too much. His legislative program was well planned and he rarely lost a bill. The first step in that program was the securing of a high school law. A statement of these facts concerning Mr. Ackerman has seemed necessary as a partial explanation of the rapid educational progress of the state during the twelve years of his administration.

A history of Oregon high school legislation in Oregon would not be complete without mention of Dr. William Kuykendall of Eugene, who represented Lane County in the state senate for several sessions. Dr. Kuykendall is a native Oregonian. He received his secondary education at the Wilbur Academy in Douglas County and took a part of his medical course at Willamette University. Only his elementary education was received in a public school, but he has shown a keen appreciation of the value of public education and an exceptional understanding of educational organization. His exceptional ability in his profession and his natural qualities of leadership placed him in a position of influence in the state and his influence was constantly at the service of public education. He made the establishment of high schools in Oregon his special mission. His interest in education was recognized by his appointment to the committee on education in the senate. All the educational legislation of 1899 and 1901, whether introduced by him or by others, was moulded into acceptable shape by him before it ever came to a vote. He was father of the first effective high school law that Oregon ever had. During the later nineties and the first few years of the present century, he was the

only leader in the legislature who could be depended upon to subject every other interest to that of the public schools. Without his leadership, the development of public high schools in Oregon would have been greatly delayed.

Immediately at the close of the 1899 session, the new state superintendent began a two years' campaign of education for high schools. He spoke for high schools at county teachers' institutes, at commencement programs and in private conversation. He urged others to talk about high schools, particularly teachers. When the legislature met in January, 1901, he and his close friends in the legislature were still in doubt as to the attitude that body would take toward a high school law.[37] With Dr. William Kuykendall, he had prepared a general school code including a high school clause. However, fearing that some of the legislators would be antagonized by the term, "high school," it was decided to substitute for it, "grades above the eighth grade." This section was as follows:

"When one-third of the legal voters of a district shall petition the district board, requesting that grades above the eighth grade may be taught in such district, or whenever the district board shall in its discretion think proper, it shall give twenty days' notice previous to the annual school meeting, or previous special election called for that purpose, that it will submit the question to the legal voters of said district whether grades above the eighth grade shall be taught in such district, at which election the electors of the district shall vote by ballot for or against establishing such grades. All notices contemplated in this section shall be given as all legal notices of special school meetings. After said election the ballots of said question shall be canvassed by the district board, and if a majority of all the votes cast shall be in favor of establishing such grades, it shall be the duty of the district board to establish such grades and determine what

[37]The statements regarding Mr. Ackerman's activities in behalf of high school legislation is based on his public addresses and on many personal conversations with him.

branches shall be taught therein, and the course of study used by classes thus formed in districts of the second and third classes shall be that prescribed by the State Board of Education."

Senator Daly of Benton County, who had presented the school bill of 1899, was still greatly interested in this subject, so the new code was placed in his hands for presentation in the legislature. He brought it in early in the session as Senate Bill No. 11. It became apparent at once that there would be little opposition to the measure. State Superintendent Ackerman and Dr. Kuykendall were emboldened to attempt something more substantial in the way of high school legislation than the section above quoted. A measure providing for the organization and financing of district and county high schools was forthwith drawn up and presented by Dr. Kuykendall as Senate Bill No. 103. On final passage each of these bills received practically a unanimous vote.[38] The fact that this belated legislation had not only passed, but had passed almost unanimously, meant that Oregon had at last got out of the woods educationally.

Superintendent Ackerman's two years of effort at educating the public on the subject of high schools had had its influence in bringing about this entire change of attitude on the part of the legislature between 1899 and 1901, but there is at least one contributory explanation for the reversal of attitude that is worthy of mention. Harvey W. Scott had given up the fight. During the legislative session of 1901 he came to Salem and, in the course of his stay there, had a talk with Dr. Kuykendall in regard to educational matters. He stated that he had not changed his views on public education and that he still believed that the state had no business providing free schools above the elementary grades. "But," said he, "I am an old man now and I am not going to fight you any longer. Free public high schools are coming and I

[38] *Oregon Senate Journal.* 1901. p. 322. pp. 337-338.

shall cease to oppose them."[39] The rock that had blocked the wheels of educational progress until Oregon was many years behind the rest of the country, had finally crumbled.

III. The Period of Organization—1901-1910

The third part of this paper will deal with the organization period of Oregon high schools from 1901, the date of the first general high school legislation, to the close of State Superintendent Ackerman's administration on December 31, 1910. The effect of the District and County High School Law upon the development of secondary education in the state will be considered, together with the need for and enactment of further legislation. This is spoken of as the Period of Organization because the chief task of this decade was to get high schools started throughout the state. Something was done in the direction of standardizing them but for this period, standardization was a secondary consideration.

It is unfortunate that the section providing for the organization of grades above the eighth could not have been eliminated from the Daly school code when the District and County High School Bill was introduced. Practically all the village and city high schools of the state have been organized under the latter measure, but when the time came that high schools were popular in Oregon, many rural districts seized upon the short law as their sanction for requiring their teachers to give one or two years of high school work. In many of these schools, the teachers had plenty of work on their hands to take care of the elementary grades and few of them were prepared to teach the high school subjects. They were rarely provided with even a minimum of equipment for teaching the advanced work. As a result, the elementary work suffered, while many of those who had taken the advanced subjects went on into city high schools only to

[39]Interview with Dr. William Kuykendall.

find themselves entirely unprepared to keep up with the high school classes to which they had been promoted.

So far as it applied to district high schools, the Kuykendall law was worded the same as the "grades above the eighth" section of the 1901 code, with the following additions:

1. The district high schools should be under the control of the district school board the same as the elementary grades;
2. The district board might use any part of the county, state or district school funds for high school purposes;
3. The district was required to maintain at least eight months of school for the elementary grades if it was to use money for high school purposes;
4. The high school was to be free to all pupils of school age in the district, who passed the eighth grade examination.[40]

It was the purpose of the framers of this law to provide a legal foundation for city and town high school and thus to encourage their organization. It went further than the provision for grades above the eighth in that it defined the high school as a part of the public school system by placing it under the control of the district board in the same manner as the elementary grades. It also made clear the sources from which money might be used for high school purposes. The section setting graduation from the eighth grade as a standard of admission to high school provided a basis for stardardizing the high schools themselves. They could at least have a common starting point since the eighth grade examination had been made uniform throughout the state.

In 1901 there were great sections of the state so sparsely settled that communities with sufficient wealth and population to maintain a high school were very far apart. It was proposed that high school opportunities in

[40]Oregon School Law. 1921. p. 142.

these thinly settled sections should be provided by organizing county high schools located at one or more points in the county and supported by a tax upon all the property in the county. A county high school law had been in operation in the neighboring state of California for ten years with apparent success.[41] Such a plan as this was made a part of the Kuykendall law. The plan was set forth in detail and was optional with the counties.[42]

At the time of its adoption, the people of the state looked with favor upon the County High School Law. Gilliam, Josephine, Crook and Klamath Counties adopted the plan at once and Harney, Wheeler and Wallowa soon followed.[43] In several other counties the plan was under consideration during the four or five years following the enactment of the law.[44] However, these counties lost their ardor before the question came to a vote and, except in one case, the system has never been extended beyond the seven counties in which it was first adopted. As has been mentioned, this law was designed to serve the interests of the sparsely settled sections. But settlement does not always remain sparse. As new communities have grown up in counties having one county high school, jealousies have arisen and the county institution has been subjected to attack. The law provides that, if the people so vote, more than one high school may be established, but only one county has ever established more than one. Lincoln County established two such schools in 1921. Each of the other counties in which the plan has been placed in operation has had only one town of any considerable size at the time of the adoption. Presumably,

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[41]*Snyder, Edwin R.*—The Legal Status of Rural High Schools in the U. S. p. 70.

[42]Oregon School Law. 1921. pp. 142-146.

[43]In Josephine County the County high school board has operated under the clause which provides that a contract may be made with some district already maintaining a high school, to teach the high school students of the County at an agreed rate per capita.

[44]Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1907. p. 190.

the voters might vote to establish an additional county high school at a later date if a new community should grow up, but this has not been done. In at least one county, the county high school board has kept the new communities satisfied by appropriating money from funds raised for the county high school, to assist in financing small local high schools. While this proceeding is not legal, it is at least expedient and has been carried on for a dozen years without being challenged.[45]

Some years after the establishment of a county high school at Enterprise in Wallowa County, the towns of Joseph, Wallowa and Lostine desired to organize high schools of their own and appealed to the county high high school board for financial assistance. The board refused to grant the request and arrangements were carried out to resubmit the county high school question to the voters of the county. As a result of the election, the county high school was voted out of existence. This proceeding was of doubtful legality but was not taken into the courts for settlement. Sooner or later, each of these counties is sure to develop such a situation as is here set forth. A legal procedure should be adopted whereby a county with a county high school may either establish additional schools or divide itself into a number of union high school districts as the population increases.

With the enactment of the law in 1901 providing for the organization of District and County High Schools, most of the opposition to this branch of the public school system seemed to vanish. The press as well as the people generally assumed a favorable attitude toward the organization of high schools even in small communities.[46] There were three causes for this change of attitude. First was

[45]In 1921 the legislature revised the law so that the county high school board is required to give financial assistance to district or union high schools in the county other than the county high school, provided such schools have been standardized by the state superintendent. (Laws 1921, Chap. 302.)

[46]Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oregon. 1905. p. 225.

the able leadership of State Superintendent Ackerman, which has already been discussed. Second, the population of the state increased over sixty per cent from 1900 to 1910.[47] Among the newcomers were many progressive and energetic men and women from communities with well developed school systems, who immediately demanded adequate school facilities for their children in the communities into which they had moved. The third cause is closely allied to the second. As the stream of immigration flowed in, each community wanted to secure its share of the new population. Realizing that good schools are a real attraction, Chambers of Commerce and other civic organizations seized upon the schools as a part of their advertising program, and many stately brick high school buildings were hastened to completion in order that their pictures might feature in the booster literature of their respective communities.

The following table shows the growth in number of high schools and in high school enrollment from 1900 to 1910:

OREGON HIGH SCHOOLS AND HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT[48]

Year	Population of Oregon	Number of High Schools	High School Enrollment
1900	413,536	30	1916
1901		34	2639
1902		39	2700
1903		50	2875
1904		68	3626
1905		70	4137
1906		72	4676
1907		91	5787
1908		94	6087
1909		110	7258
1910	672,765	126	8914

[47]The United States Census shows a population for Oregon of 443,536 in 1900 and 672,765 in 1910.

[48]Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education.

After the enactment of the District and County High School Law of 1901, there was no further high school legislation until 1907. Since the law of 1907 was of such a nature as to require seven months to get into operation, the growth of high schools up to and including 1908 may be assumed to have taken place under the law of 1901. The table shows over three times as many high schools in 1908 as in 1900 and an increase of 131 per cent in high school enrollment from 1901 to 1908. The greater proportional increase in high schools than in enrollment indicates the organization of many small high schools during this period. Oregon was rapidly catching up with the educational procession. In the country as a whole, the number of high schools as well as high school enrollment had increased only forty-two per cent[49] while in Oregon, the former had trebled and the latter had more than doubled.

While the County High School Law had defects which became apparent when it was put into operation, it did serve to enlarge the unit of taxation. It also made the high school technically free to all the boys and girls in the county. However, comparatively few counties had adopted this plan so a large portion of the state was without the advantages which it offered. Many village districts were attempting to support a high school on a low assessed valuation while all about them were valuable farm and timber lands which were not paying a single dollar toward the high school education of the state. At the same time, thousands of boys and girls who lived in these non-high school districts could secure a high school education only by paying such tuition as the town or city school board migh choose to collect from them.

The Union High School Law of 1907 was designed as a partial solution of these problems. This law provides a detailed procedure by which two or more contiguous

[49]Report of the United States Commissioner of Education. 1912. Vol. II., p. 381.

school districts may unite for high school purposes only.[50] It is the presumption of such a law that a number of rural districts will unite with a city, town or village district to form a unit of taxation with sufficient wealth to support a well conducted high school. Property previously exempt from high school taxation would thus be brought in and children previously without high school privileges would have the high school doors opened to them.

In this law, but not a part of the general plan, was a clause to the effect that any district or union high school in the state should admit, whenever the facilities of the school would warrant, a resident of any non-high school district prepared to enter such a school. A tuition fee might be charged, but this fee could not exceed "the amount apportioned on account of said pupil from the common and irreducible school funds during the preceding year." This tuition was to be paid by the school district in which the pupil held his legal residence. This law had the effect of opening the high schools to every child in the state who was prepared to enter. To this extent it was a good law. However, it was defective in that the amount of the tuition was very small as compared with the per capita cost of operating the high schools. In none of the counties did the apportionment referred to amount to more than ten dollars per census child, while the per capita cost of operating the average high school of that day was between fifty and sixty dollars. This was a losing game for the districts maintaining high schools and they saw to it that this section of the law was repealed in 1911.

Even if the provision had been made for an adequate tuition to be paid by the home districts of non-resident high school students, the law would still have been de-

[50]Oregon School Laws. 1921. pp. 147-154. As it appears in the 1921 compilation, this law includes revisions. However, these revisions are as to details. The general plan of the law has not been changed.

fective. Under such an arrangement, the financial burden would have rested upon the districts in proportion to the number of students they sent to high school and not in proportion to their ability to pay. No system of direct taxation for school purposes is entirely satisfactory unless it results in a distribution of the burden over a large unit on the basis of wealth and not on the basis of the number of children to be educated.

As to the effect of the Union High School Law on the organization of high schools, there are no figures for the first eight years after its adoption. Beginning with 1916, the number of union high schools in the state for each year was as follows:[51] 1916, 21; 1917, 23; 1918, 27; 1919, 31; 1920, 34; 1921, 39. Considering the fact that there are over 2500 school districts in Oregon, thirty-nine union high schools seem few to have been organized in the course of fourteen years. However, most sections of Oregon are still thinly populated and the Union High School Plan is most freely adopted in a thickly settled community where the districts are comparatively small, compact and well developed, so that pupils from every section of the union high school district may reach the central school with a fair degree of ease. Where the districts are large, of small population and with an undeveloped road system, the union high school does not stand in high favor. With the slight revisions which it has undergone since it was first adopted, the Union High School Law is a good piece of legislation and will no doubt prove to be of increasing value as the state becomes more thickly settled.

The last step taken in the progress of high school legislation in Oregon during the period which we have under consideration, was the adoption of the County High School Fund Law by the legislature of 1909. This law was an outgrowth of the County High School Plan as worked out in Lane County. This county had adopted the

[51]Letter of Supt. J. A. Churchill, July 21, 1922.

County High School Law in 1908. The county high school board had operated under that section of the law which provides that, instead of establishing a central high school for the county, the board may contract with an existing high school to take care of the students at an agreed rate of tuition. County Superintendent W. B. Dillard worked out a detailed plan for administering the law and not only did the plan seem to work well in Lane County, but it attracted considerable attention in other sections of the state. This matter of subsidising high schools with county funds instead of establishing them as county institutions had not been set forth in detail in the county high school law. The county superintendents and the state superintendent expressed themselves as favorable to the adoption of a new law along the line of the Lane County plan. Such a measure was prepared and was introduced by the Lane County delegation at the legislative session of 1909 and passed without opposition. This law did not supercede the County High School Law but was a companion to it. Superintendent Ackerman presents a brief statement of the plan of operation of the law in his report of 1911. It is as follows:

"The people at the general election vote 'yes' or 'no' on the establishment of a county high school fund. If the measure carries, the county court after a careful estimate levies a tax for the maintenance of high schools. A county high school board is organized composed of the county court, the county treasurer and the county school superintendent. The board contracts with each district in the county that maintains a high school up to the standards set by the State Board of Education, as specified in section 7, page 177, General Laws 1909, or section 261, Oregon School Laws. The contract states that the basis of the distribution of the county high school fund shall be upon the average daily attendance during the school year. The total amount of money paid to any district during the school year shall not be less than $40 per pupil for the first 20 of such daily attendance, and $30 for the second 20; nor more than $12.50 per pupil for all the remaining pupils."

This law, which was optional, was adopted in ten counties before 1915, when it was superceded by another law in those counties in which it had not been adopted.[52] In those counties where it had been put into operation, this law had a tendency to equalize the high school expense since the money to be distributed came from a tax on all the property of the county, but this equalization was not complete since even the forty dollars which a district might receive for each of the first twenty students enrolled was little more than half the per capita cost of running the school. The rest of the money was raised by special tax within the district.

A moment's consideration brings to light the fact that this law was designed particularly to aid the very small high school. A high school of twenty students would receive county aid to the amount of $40 per capita; a high school of forty students would receive an average of $35 per capita; a high school of 100 students would receive an average of but $21.50 per capita; and a high school of 300 students would receive an average of only $15.50 per capita. The small rural high schools flourished under this arrangement and many new ones were organized in the counties in which the law was adopted. Lane County, whose superintendent had framed and whose legislative delegation had introduced this measure, had sixteen high schools drawing money from this fund during the school year 1916-1917, each with an enrollment of less than fifty.[53] In fact, ten of these Lane County high schools had enrollments of twenty-five or less. The record for school year 1915-1916 shows fifty-seven high schools with enrollments below fifty in the ten counties which had voted in the County High Schools Fund, while the thirteen

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[52]There is some discrepancy in the information as to the number of counties that had voted in this law. The number here given is the result of comparison of figures in the Official Directory of Superintendents, etc., issued by the State Superintendent for 1915, 1916 and 1917.

[53]Official Directory of Superintendents, Supervisors, Principals, High School Teachers and Standard High Schools of Oregon. 1915. p. 102.

counties that had neither County High Schools nor County High School Fund, had a total of only thirty-three high schools of this size.[54]

This discrimination in favor of the small rural high school was probably justifiable at the time the law was adopted. It gave many boys and girls an opportunity to attend a high school near at home at a time when automobiles were few and good roads were uncommon, and when the town high school a few miles away was consequently out of reach. Though these schools were small, many of them did very effective work and all were required to come up to a certain standard as to preparation of teachers, library facilities and general equipment before they could draw money from the County High School Fund. However, as these small schools multiplied and as the high schools in the larger towns increased in enrollment, the discrimination began to be felt. In some of the districts of the first class, the high schools found themselves with an enrollment of 100 or even 200 students from outside the district for whom they were receiving only a very small tuition from the county fund. In consequence of the objections raised by these larger districts, the County High School Fund Law was eventually replaced by the County High School Tuition Fund Law in all those counties in which the former had previously been in operation. This change was made in 1921 and its effect does not come within the scope of this paper.

The chief values of the County High School Fund Law were: First, that it made the high schools free to all the children in the counties in which it was adopted; second, it increased the popularity of the high school as a part of the public school system; third, it served as a stepping-stone for more complete equalization of high school taxation.

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[54]Official Directory of Superintendents, Supervisors, Principals, High School Teachers and Standard High Schools of Oregon, 1915. pp. 100-106.

Throughout the period covered by this paper, the laws of Oregon were particularly weak as to the standards of preparation required of high school teachers. Previous to 1901, high schools were not distinctly defined and certification requirements for high school teachers were not clearly set forth. The District and County High School Law of that year included a requirement that all teachers employed in high schools should be graduates of the state normal schools of Oregon, graduates of some institution of collegiate or university grade, or should hold state certificates or state diplomas. This very modest law with its easy interpretations remained on the statute books until 1911 when the excellent certification code now in force was adopted. This low standard of preparation for teachers was an element of weakness in the high schools of the period, but the higher institutions of learning in the state were not strong or well attended nor were their departments of education well developed. If the standards had been placed high at the beginning of the period of high school development, it would have been difficult to secure enough teachers to fill the high school places. There is also the consideration that, until high school sentiment had developed considerable strength, the higher salaries necessary to secure well prepared teachers could not have been secured and high school expansion would have been slowed down. Standardization had to wait upon organization.

Conclusion

At the close of Superintendent Ackerman's administration on December 31, 1910, we find the state with fairly adequate laws for the organization and administration of district, county and union high schools, and with a county high school fund law that is acceptable as a step in the direction of county aid in the support of secondary education. We find 126 high schools in the state with an enrollment of 8,914 as compared with 30 high schools and

1,916 students at the time the first of this legislation was enacted. These laws are imperfect and the percentage of the population in high school is small, but, considered as the accomplishment of a decade, this piece of work is of large proportions.

The imperfections in the laws as they stood in 1910 have already been discussed. They will be but briefly referred to at this point. Since both the laws that made the county the unit of taxation were optional, many boys and girls were left without free high school opportunities and considerable property within the state remained free of all tax for high school support. The standard of preparation for high school teachers was low and comparatively little had been done in the way of standardization. Later legislation has provided a partial remedy for each of these imperfections. The County High School Tuition Fund Law, which now applies in every county except those with county high schools, assures that every piece of property in the state pays something toward the support of high schools and also opens the high school door to every boy and girl in Oregon prepared to enter. The administration of this and other high school laws gives the state superintendent a large measure of authority over the high schools which he can use to good effect in bringing them up to set standards of effectiveness. Since 1911, there has been little to complain of so far as the high school certification law is concerned.

Oregon still faces three definite needs in the way of high school legislation.

First, there should be a plan for state aid to high schools in proportion to their need. This need is not indicated by the number of students enrolled nor by the number of teachers that are employed. It is indicated by the levy for high school purposes that is assessed upon the property of the high school unit, whether that unit be county, district or union high school district. A tax should be levied upon all the property of the state to

create a fund, a part of which should be used to reimburse high school taxing units to the extent of fifty per cent of all money raised for high school purposes in excess of a three mill tax. Some high school units do not need to levy three mills. These would receive no state aid. Some must levy five mills or more in order to maintain an effective high school. These should receive state assistance.

Second, the remainder of the proposed high school fund should be used to pay the transportation of students whose homes are out of easy reach of a high school. Definite regulations could be worked out for handling this matter.

Third, there should be a provision for an assistant to the state superintendent, who should serve as high school inspector to advise as to improvement and to see that definite standards were met by the schools of the state.

The financial measure here proposed would distribute the tax burden and, combined with expert inspection, would improve the quality of high school instruction in the poorer districts. By eliminating the individual expense of transportation, it would give equal high school opportunities to all the boys and girls in the state so far as equality in such matters is possible.

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JOHN WORK'S JOURNEY FROM FORT VANCOUVER TO UMPQUA RIVER, AND RETURN, IN 1834

Introduction and Comments by LESLIE M. SCOTT

Introduction

John Work was an extensive traveler and trader and a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. He came to the Pacific Coast from York factory, on Hudson's Bay, in 1823, with Peter Skene Ogden, who had charge of the annual express that year, and served in the fur-trading posts of the Upper Columbia River. He established a farm at Fort Colville in 1823, the first in the Old Oregon Country, and built Fort Colville in 1825-26. In 1830 he succeeded Peter Skene Ogden in charge of the Snake River brigade. Fort Simpson was in his charge in 1835-49, and in the latter year he was stationed at Victoria as a chief factor. For many years he was a member of the legislative council of Vancouver Island. He was born in 1791 and died December 22, 1861. For his biography, see Howay's and Scholefield's *History of British Columbia*, IV, 1178; Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly*, X, 296-7. For journals of his travels, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, III, 198-228 (1824); V, 83-115, 163-91, 258-87 (1825); VI, 26-49 (1826), all by T. C. Elliott; XI, 104-14 (1828), by William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers; Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly*, X, 296-313 (1828); 331-65 (1825-26); XIII, 363-70; XIV, 280-314 (1830-31), all by T. C. Elliott. A narrative and journal of Work's Snake River expedition (1831-32), edited by William S. Lewis, of Spokane, and Professor Paul C. Phillips, of the University of Montana, is soon to be published by the Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio. The John Work journal of the expedition of 1834 from Fort Vancouver to Umpqua River, and return, is herewith presented as copied from the original, and has not

been edited or otherwise altered. The bracketed numbers represent the pages of the H. H. Bancroft copy of the journal. The writer of the subjoined comments is indebted to William S. Lewis, of Spokane, Washington; T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, Washington, and F. G. Young, of Eugene, Oregon, for many details of information.

This copy of the John Work journal of 1834 was made from the H. H. Bancroft copy of the original, under direction of Dr. Herbert I. Priestly, librarian of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. The original journal is in the Provincial Library at Victoria, British Columbia.

JOURNAL OF A TRIP TO THE SOUTHWARD IN 1834

1834. May 22. Very heavy rain the greater part of the day. Left Vancouver on a Trading & Trapping Trip to the Southward with 12 men. We embarked at 2 p. m.

Comments

May 22. The "traverse," where the boat route joined the mountain trail, was on Willamette Slough (Multnomah Channel), called by John Work "little channel," probably one or two miles northwest of the railroad station named Holbrook. This is some twelve miles from Fort Vancouver and five miles south of the present town Scappoose. At or near this "traverse," the Hudson's Bay Company had a dairy on Wapato (now Sauvie) Island. The mountain trail led across hills of between 1100 and 1200 feet elevation to McKay Creek, tributary of Tualatin River. John Work's bateaux probably crossed the upper end of Sauvie Island, which was then inundated by the spring freshet of Columbia River. See map of Charles Wilkes in *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition,* 1838-42. The distance across the mountains is estimated by John Work at ten miles, but the later winding road (1923) is about eight miles. It may be of inter-

& reached the traverse in the little channel of the Willamet at just 6 oclock whence we are to proceed on horseback. It rained so hard that the people were completely soaked and the baggage also a good deal wet. And where we had to encamp is among wet grass which is very unpleasant, besides there plenty of mosquitoes & very little wood to make fire.

Saturday, May 23. Heavy rain. Sent part of the men across the mountain to Faladin Plain for the horses with which they arrived in the evening, all completely soaked with wet.

24. Showery. After getting everything ready raised camp & proceeded across the mountain to the beaver

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Comments

est to note that John Work gives the "i" instead of the "a" vowel in the first syllable of Willamette. This vowel difference has been the subject of controversy.

May 23. "Faladin" or Tualatin Plain was near North Plains, Washington County, Oregon, probably one mile or more northeast of that place. The Indian name *Tualatin* has had many variations. The meaning is unknown. The horses were probably those of Thomas McKay, who probably sent them there for grazing from his farm near Scappoose. This grazing ground is described by John Work in his entry of May 24 (see following). For John Work's description of McKay's place, see his entry under July 8, following. For details, see also Lee and Frost's *Ten Years In Oregon,* XI, 124-26; also printed journal of Wyeth's second expedition (1835), p. 251, published by University of Oregon, 1899; diary of Jason Lee (1834), *Quarterly* of Oregon Historical Society, XVII, 297, 399, 400, 401.

May 24. The horses to be sent to "Mr. McKay's place," apparently, were to return by the same mountain route to the "traverse" of May 22, and thence to go north to McKay's home near Scappoose. Thomas McKay was

ground at Faladin Plain. In the afternoon gave out the people their horses & selected those to accompany the party, the remainder to be sent tomorrow to Mr. McKay's place. We were 3½ hours crossing the mountains which may be perhaps 10 miles across about S. West. [184] The road is in many places steep & rugged particularly on the N side of the hill. The unfavorable weather & being encumbered in places with fallen timber rendered it worse than it otherwise might be. The soil is composed of a thick strata of dark vegetable mould perhaps not over 6 or 8 inches deep, over a bed of reddish tile (?) No stone or gravel worth mentioning. It is not thickly wooded with timber but overgrown with underwood. The trees principally pine & cedar and of a pretty large size. On reaching the plains some oak of a middling size fringe the edges of the woods. There are also some ash & other trees. The country on getting out of the woods has a

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Comments

a son of Alexander McKay who was lost on the *Tonquin* in 1811. Wilkes' *Narrative,* 1841, page 221, mentions McKay's gristmill near Champoeg and describes him as "a man of middle age, tall, well-made and of muscular frame, with an expression of energy and daring, and a deep-set, piercing black eye, beneath a full projecting eye brow." The gristmill was built in 1836. "Killymaux" Mountain, to the west, is John Work's variation of *Tillamook,* which has had many diverse forms and is supposed to have been originally the designation of an Indian tribe. The camping place was east of the present village North Plains, Washington County, probably four or five miles north and east of the site of Hillsboro. "The most northern fork of the Faladin" probably was Dairy Creek, some four miles southwest. The distance to the Columbia River, north, given by John Work as "not far," was thirty-five miles. In a northeasterly direction the distance to that river was less than fifteen miles.

beautiful appearance. It is a continuation of plains which commence here and continue on to the Southward, sparated by narrow strips of timber, bounded to the east by the strip of woodland which occupy the banks of the Willamet; and to the westward by the woods which occupy the base of the Killymaux Mountain.

The soil is a rich blackish mould covered (but not with a close [185] thick sward) with grass & other plants, among which are considerable quantities of strawberry plants, now well furnished with fine fruit. Not a stone & scarcely a shrub to interrupt the progress of the plough which might be employed in many places with little more difficulty than in a stubble field.

The country here though termed Plain from being clear of wood, is not a dead flat but composed of portions of level land with gently rising grounds. Portions of the flat lands are springey. Here the soil inclines to be clayey. The vegetation is not rank, yet it yields a great deal of pasture. This first plain may be about three times the size of the clear ground about Fort Vancouver, and about 170 horses have been feeding upon it for the two last months, and there would still be grass enough for them for the rest of the summer. This Plain is never overflowed; the nost Northern fork of the Faldin is a little distance further on to the Southward. It is not far but through a woody country, to the banks of the Columbia in a N. N. W. direction.

The open country here is of an irregular form, as points of woods [186] jut out into the plains from both sides. There can be no doubt but abundant crops of every kind of grain would amply reward the labor of the husbandman, besides its being so well adapted for pasture both of cattle & sheep. The open ground here may be about 3 or 4 miles wide from E. S. E. to W. N. W.

May 25. Thick fog in the morning. Fair weather afterwards. Sent off six men and boys with 103 horses to Mr. McKay's Place. Owing to the fog it was late in

the morning before the horses were all collected, and as it took some time to separate those which we are to take with us from the others, it was near noon before they started. They are directed to be here as early as they can tomorrow so that we may proceed on our journey. Kanata killed a deer.

May 26. Fine weather. By the time the men who were sent with the horses yesterday, it was near three oclock and too late to raise camp. There was a good deal of trouble getting the horses down through the woods yesterday.

May 27. Overcast fine weather. Proceeded [187] on our journey at 8 o'clock & encamped near 2 at the 4th &

Comments

May 25. Kanata was listed among the employes of Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 as number 935. His name appears as Kanote, Kanota, Kanola, Kanotti and Kanato. He accompanied John Work in the Snake River country in 1831-32. This name and others are from the Hawaiian Islands, natives of which were brought here by the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, following their first introduction by the Astors and the *Tonquin* in 1811. The name Owyhee in Eastern Oregon, is a relic of these people. For the name Knola and Kanotti, see *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, XIV, 295, 309.

May 27. Camp, apparently, was between Dilley and Gaston, the "4th and last fork of the Faladin River" being either Scoggin Creek or South Fork of Tualatin River. The river crossings this day were probably of McKay Creek, Dairy Creek and Scoggin Creek. The difficult crossing probably was that of Dairy Creek. The "third fork" was probably Gale's Creek. The hills to the eastward of the camping place were Chehalem Mountains. The day's route passed the sites of Forest Grove and Dilley, in Washington County, Oregon.

last fork of the Faladin River near the mountains. We were delayed an hour & a half crossing the second fork where the horses had to be swam across, and the baggage carried across a bridge formed by a tree thrown across the river. The other forks were all fordable; the banks of all these forks are very steep & clayey. Our course today was S. S. W. about 18 miles. The soil has mostly the same appearance as where we left in the morning, but where we are encamped near the hills the soil is of a more reddish cast, and as not such a good appearance, and there are some gravel & stones in it.

To the Eastward of this there are some hills covered with wood. On the banks of the third fork there is some low, stony land, with longer grass & herbage than elsewhere. Some spots today are overgrown with fern, & the soil did not appear so good.

May 28. Heavy rain in the night, and rain the most of the day. The unfavorable weather deterred us from raising camp, for the rain was not heavy during the day, yet te bushes were so loaded with water [188] that the baggage would have been wet. The hunters were out in the evening but without success. They saw some deer, but they were so shy that they could not be approached. There are a good many Indians about here, which causes the deer to be so wild.

May 29. Fair weather in the morning but continual heavy showers during the day afterwards. Raised camp & continued our route S. S. E. 4 miles [hours?] & about

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Comments

May 28. The Indians mentioned were probably either Yamhills or Tualatins, of the Kalapooian family.

May 29. Camp was apparently on Chehalem Creek, west of the site of Newberg, and near the land of Ewing Young, who arrived there later in the same year (1834). The day's travel followed the east shore of Wapato Lake, whose overflow conditions John Work well describes.

15 miles. Encamped on a small creek at the head of an extensive plain. After leaving the river where we slept last night, the road lay through a point of woods, and two small plains of fine rich soil, but subject to be under water at times during the rainy season. Then over a few hills mostly covered with wood and bushes, and along an extensive plain of rich soil with a kind of swamp or lake running all along the West side of it. Parts of this plain are subject to be partially inundated. Before reaching the southern extremity we struck across to the Eastward over a portion of low hilly country covered with bushes and some trees, principally [189] oak to the head of the

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Comments

"Sand's Encampment" was Champoeg, otherwise known as *Campment du Sable, Camp au Sable* and *Sand Point.* Depatty's house was near Champoeg and appears in the map of Nathaniel J. Wyeth (1832-33. See *Correspondence and Journals of Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-36*, edited by F. G. Young, Eugene, Oregon, 1899, p. 178. See also p. 233, "Duportes House." Gagnion was apparently J. B. Gagnion, or Gagnier, number 821 on the list of employes of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, where the name is given J. B. Gagmon. This employee was assigned to Fort Umpqua as interpreter in 1840. Lucius Gagnion, said to have opposed the American party at Champoeg in 1843, may have been the same. In Gustavus Hines' *Oregon,* VI, 99, Gagnion is referred to as follows: "We were kindly received at the fort (Umpqua) by an old Frenchman, having charge of it, by the name of Goniea. * * * * * * The Frenchman, it is said, belongs to a wealthy and honorable family in Montreal, and though frequent efforts have been made to reclaim him from his wanderings, yet all have been unavailing. He lives with an Indian woman whom he claims as his wife." The Umpqua Indians, whose habitat was the river of that name, are classed as belonging to the Athapascan family.

fine plain where we are encamped; which is some miles in length and breadth, composed of a rich soil covered with fine pasture; the lower part of it subject to be overflowed or rather covered with water in the rainy season. Passed some small rivulets during the day's march. After encamping I went to the Sand's encampment which is about 8 or 9 miles S. E., about half way through the plain we are encamped, and then through alternate small plains and points of woods to the Willamet.

My object in going here is to get some information from Depatty relative to the trade with the Umquah Indians, but though he had been there two years ago & as it was Gagnion who performed the trade, he could tell me very little about it. Kanola killed a deer & the men traded 3 from the Indians.

May 30. Fine. Continued our route near 7 hours S 10 miles to Yamhill river which we crossed, & then S. S. W. 8 miles up the Southside of the river a little below the Faladin fork, and encamped on a small creek. The road till we [190] reached the river lay along a fine valley not very wide, surrounded with a number of rising hills thickly covered with oak. The soil all the way is very rich and the pasture though not rank more luxuriant than in the large level plains. On the summit of the hills the soil inclines in some places to a reddish tile. On the South side of the river the road lay through an extensive

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Comments

May 30. The party crossed Yamhill River probably near Dayton. Faladin (Tualatin) Fork probably was the north fork of Yamhill River, which rises from the northerly direction of Tualatin River. The "small creek" upon which camp was made probably was Salt Creek, near the later village Amity. P. Lagere may be Baptismo Deguear and J. B. DeGuerre, frequently mentioned in "Ewing Young and His Estate," Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly*, XXI, 171-315.

plain of fine soil, and different from the country we passed through three days past by being a dead level. It appears a fine rich soil.

The plain continues on without interruption except a few trees along some small streams, on to the mountains to the Westward and is capable of yielding pasture for immense herds of cattle, for in places it is several miles wide. On the North side of the river the plains also continue on to the mountains, as well as along the Faladin fork. The banks of the river are clothed with a little timber, principally pine with a mixture of oak & some other trees. This wood here & there juts in points out to the [191] Plain, and there are patches of oak here & there. To the Southward of this plain on the S side of the river, a range of low green hills extend, with a few oak trees upon them, and would be a fine pasturage for sheep. The river has generally steep clayey banks, & is difficult to approach on account of the underwood, and can only be crossed at some places wherever traversed. It runs over a bed of soft rotten sandstone, and many of the horses fell descending the the lower part of the sloping bank which is also composed of these stones. This & the river which we crossed yesterday morning are the only places we have seen stones since we started. Where we crossed there is a rapid, but from the formation of the river it would be difficult to make it secure for mill-stream[?] The hunters were out. P. Lagere killed a deer.

Sunday May 31. Fine & warm, cool at night & heavy dew in the morning. Continued our route 6¾ hours

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Comments

May 31. Camp apparently was on Luckiamute River, which the diary calls "second fork from the Yamhill." The first "fork" was Rickreall River. The route passed the sites of later McCoy, Dallas and Monmouth. The "lake" is one mile south of Perrydale.

about 24 miles S & S. S. W and encamped at the second fork from the Yamhill. The road for the first 16 miles lay through a fine uninterrupted [192] Plain of fine soil, with some swampy places, with better pasturage than we have hitherto met with. There is also a small lake. On each side of us there were ranges of moderately elevated hills, some of them with little wood, the others thinly covered with oak, and here & there a patch of pine. Beyond these hills to the Eastward there are said to be other ranges of Plain country. Here we closed up pretty nearly with the mountains to the Westward, and crossed a small river the first from the Yamhill, when the road lay about 3 miles along a ridge of hills pretty well timbered with oak, & then along a marshy valley about 5 miles to the fork where we are encamped.

The Plain which we left beyond the first fork continues along the range of hills which run along East of the road. The river where we are camped is 10 or 12 yds wide. A fringe of woods runs along its banks, behind which a narrow plain extends towards the mountain on both sides, and also downwards. This river runs over a bottom of a rocky & gravelly nature, of a slatey [193] texture, but has steep clayey banks. The plains in places appear subject to be inundated in the rainy season. The first river which is a branch of this one runs over a gravelly bottom & the soil on its banks is for a short distance gravelly, which is the only place we have seen gravel since we started.

June 1. Fine. Continued our route 7 hours, 24 miles. The first half of the way S. E. & then S. W. to the river at Sauvie [Laurie] where we camped. The road for the first 14 miles lay through a plain country for about 7 miles across a point to another fork which falls into the river we left in the morning & thence over low hills & across along plain 7 miles further to another creek. All the way there is fine soil, and the low grounds about the creeks superior pasture land and very extensive to the E.

Some woods along the banks of the rivers. And on the high ground oaks here and there. The road for the next 4 miles lay along the base of some hills thickly timbered with oak and composed of rich tile soil & pretty well covered with grass. Large tracts of open ground extend to the E. The road now lay along [194] an extensive plain, some parts of it swampy, to Laurie river where we are camped not far from its discharge into a Channel of the Willamet. Here is an extensive plain on both sides of the river, and the mountains to the W. are nearly without wood. Clover was observed today both on the high and on the low ground. The soil & herbage has the same appearance as usual. Where we are camped at the usual traverse of the river is too high to be forded, but we learn from the Indians it is fordable a little higher up.

We met a party of Indians today who informed us that all Michell's party but himself and one man were killed by the Indians; that this report was received from an Indian who was coming from the Umquah with the news, but turned back. Passed some Indian huts at the rivers we passed. A few natives visited us in the evening. The hunters were out in the evening, but without success.

Comments

June 1. Laurie River was Mary's River. This river is *Riviere des Souris* (Mice River) in Duflot de Mofras' *Exploration,* II, 210. Apparently John Work's *Laurie* is Duflot's *Souris.* The day's crossing was the South Fork of Luckiamute River, which John Work calls "another fork which falls into the river we left in the morning." The next creek mentioned is probably the later Soap Creek. Camp apparently was near the site of the later Corvallis. "Michell's party" evidently refers to the party of Michel Laframboise, see under June 2, following. Laframboise is frequently referred to as "Michell" in this diary.

June 2. Fine. Proceeded 18 miles S & camped at the traverse at Sam [195] Tomeleaf[?] river. We were delayed some time in the morning fording a traverse where we camped last night, after which the road lay throgh an extensive plain, very level except place[s] & averaging from 5 to 7 miles wide. On our left or E side at a short distance lay first the small channel of the Willamet, then a long narrow lake like a canal & then the river where we camped. And to the W extends the chain of mountains, the first range of rising hills with little wood on them. The soil here is of the same description as that passed three days past, but from being mostly a dead level, considerable portions of it appear to have been under water in the rainy season. And in places the grass seems to be less luxuriant than we have observed hitherto, probably owing to the drought having rendered the ground hard & cracked. Along the banks of the lake some places are swampy. The river here is close to the mountains and runs over a bed of rocks over which there are steep clayey banks. On the E side of the [196] river there are extensive plains.

By what we can learn from T. Mouria[?] the Islander the Companion of poor Mourio who was drowned coming

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Comments

June 2. Sam Tomeleaf River was Long Tom River. Camp probably was near the site of Monroe. The day's journey, apparently, followed the route of the later Southern Pacific Railroad. Michel Laframboise was a French-Canadian voyageur and interpreter who arrived in Oregon on the *Tonquin* and established himself in later years on a farm at French Prairie. See Ross, *Oregon Settlers*, p. 257; Franchere's *Narrative*, pp. 29-30. In 1833-38 he was attached to the Umpqua expeditions. In 1839 and 1841-43 he was listed on the Bonaventura expedition. He served as guide for the Wilkes party. He is listed as an opponent of the American party at Champoeg in 1843.

with letters from M. Laframboise some time ago, it appears that it was somewhere about here that they embarked in the canoe to descend the river, and 2 days after (but he cannot make us understand when [where?]) the canoe came in contact with a stick or fallen tree that was in the river, & upset when the poor man was drowned & the letters & everything they had was lost, and he Morina barely saved himself by his good swimming and found his way to the settlement 2 days after nearly starved with cold & hunger. From the little information he can give us & the length of time elapsed since the important occurrence any attempt to find out the place, or anything relative to the accident would be fruitless. The hunters killed 1 deer.

June 3. Chilly & rain. Continued our route 18 miles S S E & S. Crossed the [197] river in the morning when we continued up the E side of it to the commencement of the mountains, where we are camped on the same river. The road lay through an extensive plain, the greater part of the way quite level, bounded to the E by the Willamet. Considerable portions of the plain are subject to inundation & parts of it are not so well clothed with grass as some of those we have already passed. Some places of it are also swampy. And parts of it gravelly which is the first soil of the kind we ave seen since we started. This plain is 4 to 6 miles wide. The river here runs over a muddy bottom with steep clayey banks so much so that it is difficult to water the horses. Where we left this

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Comments

June 3. The river crossing was that of the Long Tom near Monroe. The mountains were those at the head of Willamette River, southwest of Eugene, called Calapooya Mountains. The day's course was up Coyote Creek of Long Tom River. Camp apparently was ten miles west of the site of Eugene. The Indians were probably Calapooyas.

morning would be an eligible situation for a settlement. On the E side of the river would serve for pasturage & the high ground on the W side for tillage & sheep walks; and the river could easily be made navigable. The hunters were out but without success, except P. Legare who killed 2 deer. There are some deer, but [198] they are very shy. Some Indians visited us in the evening.

June 4. Cloudy. Proceeded 20 miles, first S. S. W. & then S. S. E. through a hilly country. First up a narrow valley along the river where we are camped, & then across a range of hills and along another narrow valley, where we crossed some more hills to another valley which brought us to the Yangawa river where we camped at the foot of Elk Mountain.

This river at the foot of the mountain falls into the sea. Some spots of rocks are to be seen on the brows of some of the hills we passed today. Some parts of the valley we passed today are subject to inundation. There are also a few places marshy but all the rest of the way the soil appears very rich & clothed with a more luxuriant crop of herbage than we have met with since leaving the fort. There is a considerable quantity of clover among the long grass, which in many places is sufficiently rank & thick to be cut for hay, & most excellent hay it would make. [199] The ground appears highly susceptible of cultivation & would be superior pasture land, the low ground for cattle, the bare or partially wooded hills for sheep. The plain on the end of which we are camped is of considerable extent & has a pretty large swamp in the middle of it. The second valley through which we passed is watered by a fork of the river which

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Comments

June 4. Yangama River was Siuslaw River. Elk Mountain marks the divide between Siuslaw and Umpqua rivers. Camp probably was ten miles west of the site of Cottage Grove.

we left in the morning. Through all the hilly country through which we passed the land on the sides of the hills and in the intervening valleys appears to be of a superior quality, or at least the vegetation is more luxuriant than on the low flat plains even where they do not appear subject to inundation. There is also some timothy grass similar to what we have from England. The clover is of the white or red kind & grows most luxuriantly on the border of swamp or on the plains, where the ground is a little damp & springy. The timber today was mostly oak & a few other trees, & pine on the higher hills.

June 5. Rain. The unfavorable weather deterred us raising camp, as passing [200] the mountains through the thick woods & bushes which are loaded with water would have wet & spoiled and baggage and horse agnts[?]

An Indian, Catarah joined us here & state that M. Laframboise had gone along the seacoast & that reports had been received that the Indians attempted to pillage them of their property which caused a quarrel in which 16 of the natives were slain, & that subsequently the Indians had assembled in great force & cut off all, or the greater part of M. Laframboise's party. This part of the story I do not think probable. The hunters were out but without success. There are but few tracks of animals, besides the weather was unfavorable.

June 6. Heavy rain. Did not raise camp on account of the bad weather. The hunters were out but without success.

June 7. Fine. Proceeded 4½ hours, 15 miles, first S 8 miles across the Elk mountain to Elk river, & then S W. 7 miles down the N side [201] of the river to the traverse where we camped. We were an hour ascending the mountain on the N side, & 1½ in descending. All

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Comments

June 7. Elk River was the later Elk Creek. The "traverse" and the camp probably were near Drain.

the way through a woody country until we came within a short distance of the river when the road lay down a fine sloping hill & across a plain clear of woods & covered with fine verdure on a rich soil. The road then lay along the declivity of the hills which are mostly clear of woods. The soil in the mountains appears good. I observed timothy at different places along the road. No stones during the day's pourney, but the river here runs over a bed of loose stones and rocks. The wood in the mountains is chiefly pine and along the river & on the hillsides a mixture of pine, oak & other trees.

June 8. Cloudy & light rain. Left camp in the morning & proceeded with 3 men and an Indian down to the Vernon[?] (for some furs which Michell had traded in the winter) where we arrived after 9 hours about 40 miles, first S W then W. The road [202] through a very hilly country, several of the hills steep; thickly wooded; parts clear of wood. The road crosses the Elk river be-

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Comments

June 8. "The Vernon" or Vervor appears to have been near the site of Scottsburg, on tidewater, and twenty miles west of Elkton and the later Fort Umpqua. The later fort was near the site of the later Elkton, on the south side of Umpqua River. Elkton is on the north side. The letter to "C. F. McLoughlin" was to Chief Factor John McLoughlin at Vancouver. "Michell" refers to Michel Laframboise. Fort Umpqua near Elkton, apparently did not exist in 1834. John Work camped near there on June 9 and passed there June 8 without mentioning the fort. But he mentions "Umpqua old fort," which appears to have been established in 1832 on or near Calapooya Creek. See entry of June 11, following. See also Himes and Lang's *History of the Willamette Valley*, p. 201. The Umpqua country is described by Ross' *Oregon Settlers*, p. 257, as the "finest hunting ground on the Willamette."

tween our camp & its discharge into the Umquah which is about half way to the Vervor. The road then lies along the N bank of the Umquah which may be about 80 yds wide. No stones worth mentioning all the way; the river runs on a bed of soft slatey rock. The soil rich and clothed with fine pasture. A narrow valley runs along the north side of the river. Here is a most luxuriant growth of fern mixed with grass, clover, vegetables & flowers. The plain which may be from ¼ to ½ mile wide is bounded to the N by a range of bare hills with trees along their tops, and several rivulets intersect it on their way to the river. Joe the master of the only house that is here has a small patch of potatoes which appear in a most healthy & thriving condition. Some of the pines in the woody part of the country are of very large size. [203] We had put up close by the House in the grass for the night and had supper, but as there was an appearance of heavy rain Joe invited us to take shelter under his roof which we reluctantly did as we dread being infested with fleas. In other respects except the excessive heat of the house our quarters are very comfortable but a scarcity of provisions prevails here at the present season.

This Joe is a noted character among the natives by whom he is much feared, as the life of a fellow creature is held in little estimation by him. He has seven wives now in the house with him which is said to be but half of the number he possesses. He appears attentive to us. There are five packs of beaver here which Michell left, besides 2 belonging to his men. Joe it appears has also about a pack to trade. Here I received a letter from Mr. Laframboise addressed to Mr. C. F. MLoughlin dated 17th of April last. He & his party were then all well—shortly previous to that date he had had a battle with the Indians on the S side of the Umquah mountain in which 11 of the [204] savages were slain & several wounded. None of the whites had received any hurt. The cause of

the quarrel is not mentioned. He desires Mr M Loughlin not to be uneasy about his safety.

June 9. Light showers. Had the furs arranged, & returned on our way to the camp accompanied by Joe & 2 other Indians with some beaver to trade, at the end of 7 hours march put up for the night as our horses were fatigued. The road very hilly. This must be a very bad road to pass in the winter season on account of the number of times the river & other small creeks have to be crossed, the country being so hilly & in many places so thickly wooded. Even now our eyes are like to be torn out with the thicketty branches.

June 10. Light rain. Continued our route & reached the camp at the end of 5 hours march. Traded Joe's beaver in the evening. Some more Indians, Old Grey Head's sons, arrived with some beaver. I saw some Indians on the way going down 2 days ago [205] coming up the Umquah in canoes & sent word with them that we were here for the purpose of trade. Since I have been off 3 deer were killed.

June 11. Heavy rain. Traded what beaver the Indians had which with those received from Joe make 72 beaver & 25 otters. I find some of the Indians difficult to deal with. I have not a proper assortment of goods. Heyquales[?] are much asked for, and I have none of small green beads which are much in demand. I had only 4 or 5 pounds & they are all done. The other sorts of beads are in little repute. Nor are the other goods except ammunition in much demand except at very low prices. The Indians also complain that the goods are

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Comments

June 9. The party returned some twenty miles or half way to the camp on Elk Creek. This half-way place apparently was near the later site of Fort Umpqua, on Umpqua River, opposite Elkton.

June 10. The party arrived at the camp on Elk Creek.

charged higher than they have hitherto got them, which in some things perhaps may be the case. But be it so or not the Indians are always apt to say so when a stranger comes among them for the first time. The most of these furs appear to be procured from along the seacoast, & there seems to be an opposition among the Indians who go there to trade, which causes the [206] beaver first to cost higher than they otherwise would do, & to induce the Indians to ask a higher price from us, in order to have a little profit.

Joe returned home. I sent a letter with him for Michelle & also sent a bag of corn, 5 Gall rice, 5 Gall flour, 1 lb tea & ½ loaf of sugar. Should Michell be sick as was my case last year, these things would be a great acquisition to him. After Joe went off I learn that he & some of the other Indians are not on the best of terms. He is said to have killed 4 Indians during the winter & is represented as a very bad character & a great hand for taking other people's wives. The men set some traps since I went off; only 1 beaver taken; 2 deer killed.

June 12. Fine. Had arranged to proceed to the Umquah old fort where I understood the natives have a few beaver, but was deterred on account of a child of Champaign's which has been sick some time, being so sick that it was not expected to live out the day. By some indians that were here I sent word to those on [207] the

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Comments

June 12. "The Umpqua old fort" indicates there were two Forts Umpqua. The later fort of that name was opposite Elkton on Umpqua River. Either the old or the later fort, probably the former, was established by Chief Trader John McLeod and Michel Laframboise in 1832. The "old fort," apparently, was on Calapooya Creek west of the sites of later Oakland and Sutherlin, perhaps at the junction of Calapooya Creek and Umpqua River, which place was the southermost objective of this journey.

Umquah to meet me with what few beaver they may have to trade. Hunters out, but no success, except Kanota 2 deer.

June 13. Overcast & chilly. F. Champaign's child continued so ill that it was not expected to live out the day, in consequence of which we did not raise camp. Hunters out, 2 deer killed. We got enough to serve the people so that they require to touch but little of their voyage provisions.

June 14. Cloudy & fine. Proceeded 20 miles S. E. & S. to the second fork of the Umquah through a hilly country with intervening valleys of rich soil richly clothed with verdure. Found some Indians where we encamped, and about 20 men visited us in the evening. Two of the men crossed the mountains to the E. accompanied by an Indian as a guide to set some traps. Hunters had no success.

June 15. Fine. Did not raise camp. Champaign's daughter died about noon. The old chief Latana accompanied by 2 other Indians visited us. There are a few beaver among his people which I mean to go down [208] that way to trade. I received a note from Mr Laframboise dated 8th April. It contains no news but what was contained in the one I received a few days ago addressed to Mr McLoughlin. Men off yesterday returned. Hunters out; an elk & a deer killed.

Comments

June 13. Francois Campoigna was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company on the list of 1821-22 as number 638, and on the list of 1822-23 as number 509. See *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, XIII, 367; XIV, 290.

June 14. The route was southerly from the camp near the site of Drain to Calapooya Creek, probably near the site of the town Oakland. The second fork of the Umpqua was Calapooya Creek, the first fork being Elk Creek.

June 16. Fine. Proceeded down river to below its discharge into the Umquah 9 miles. The river which the road runs along runs through a valley enclosed by hills. Soil fine & clothed with pasturage, grass & clover. The old chief Satarna (opposite to whose house we are encamped) with several of his people visited us in the evening. The hunters had no success.

June 17. Fine. Employed most of the day trading with the Indians & traded only 21 large beaver, 2 small do & 5 otters, which I believe is all they have. They are troublesome to deal with. They suppose, or affect to suppose, that they are harder dealt with than usual. News arrived again that Michell & his party were all killed. The Indian who brought this news had heard it from another, who had received the information from [209] a third far off; and again it is stated that our people have killed 25 more of the Indians. Most probably the whole story is a falsehood. The Umquah here is about 150 yds wide & runs over a rocky bottom of soft slatey rock & is not very deep. A horse can ford it at present. A little below our station, the mountains which are steep & ragged strike close into the river. Where we are encamped there are a few plains on both sides of the river. The rock on the high ground is a sort of a freestone.

June 18. Fine. Returned to our station of the 17th [15th?]. There we met a party of Indians from the head of the Willamet, headed by a man named Charles who

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Comments

June 16. The day's journey ended below the junction of Umpqua River and Calapooya Creek, probably the site of "Umpqua old fort."

June 18. Beginning the return, the party journeyed up Calapooya Creek to the camping place of June 15. A person named Charles is mentioned in "Ewing Young and His Estate," Oregon Historical Society *Quartely*, XXI, 219, 267, 280.

had been formerly a slave, but obtained his liberty & is now a chief. From this man we learned that the head of the Willamet is so difficult to ascend that it can only be hunted with canoes, & that for a length of time no one has been up it (indeed no white man has ever been all the way to the head of it) and that there are some beaver in it. I have [210] determined to go there & try what can be done as there is nothing to be got elsewhere that we can venture to go to. Old Satana & some of his men followed us up in the evening. The hunters out, P Legare killed a deer.

June 19. Fine with squalls. Charles has some business to settle with the Indians which requires this day, and as he is to guide us to the head of the Willamet across the mountain we did not raise camp. There is some disturbance & rumors of war among the Indians here. It appears that an Indian was bitten by a rattlesnake some time ago & died. His friends accuse a tribe above of having effected his death by conjuring, & threaten to avenge it if property is not paid for the body, which will probably have to be complied with as the conjurers are the weaker party. One deer killed.

June 20. Fine. There was a total eclipse of the moon last night, which continued a considerable time. Raised camp & proceeded 20 miles N. E. & N. to a fork of Elk river through a hilly country partially wooded [211] some valleys of fine rich land covered with pasturage. A number of Indians encamped near our station. Three hunters out, each killed a deer.

June 21. Fine. Proceeded 6 hours N. across the Elk mountain to a fork of the Willamet. Road across the mountains rugged & lies through thick woods. But on

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Comments

June 20. Camp was on Elk Creek above the site of Drain, perhaps five miles northeast, and also a few miles northeast of the camping place of June 7, 10-13.

both sides places clear & covered with verdure. The soil more gravelly than we have seen for some time.

June 22. Fine. Continued our route 10 miles N down the river where we camped in order to send the hunters in quest of deer. The hunters had no success.

June 23. Fine. One of the men who was out hunting lost his horse & it was late when he found him, so that we could not raise camp. One deer.

June 24. Fine. Continued our route 16 miles N to the main or middle fork of the Willamet at the commencement of the mountains, or end of the plains or clear ground where we camped. The river here is 80 to 100 yds wide. From Indian information the upper part of this fork has never been visited by whites and beaver [212] are said to be numerous within a few days march of this place beyond the first range of mountains, where there is a valley, but from the mountainous nature of the country, thickly wooded, little or no grass, it would be very difficult to get to with horses & though the navigation is difficult, it is said to be practicable to ascend the river in canoes. I have determined therefore to send the people to try what can be done that way. The men were off & selected cedar trees to make canoes for the purpose and were afterwards getting their tools in readiness to commence making canoes tomorrow.

June 25. Fine. The men busy at the canoes. The

Comments

June 21. The route crossed the divide between Elk Creek of Umpqua River and Coast Fork of Willamette, to a camp south of the site of Cottage Grove. The party had crossed this same divide, more to the westward, on June 7.

June 22. Camp was near the site of Saginaw.

June 24. Camp was near the site of Springfield. John Work proceeded to build canoes so as to enable members of his party to ascend Middle Fork in quest of beaver.

tree is very large & pretty difficult to work. Several Indians visited us & corroborate what we have before heard respecting beaver being in the upper part of the river, & that the navigation is practicable, tho' difficult. Traded 2 beaver. One of the men taken ill with fever. The [213] hunters were out but without success.

One of the Willamet freemen, Louis, paid us a visit. He has killed 7 beaver within a few days between the settlement & this, and from his account upward of 80 beaver have been in the river from this downwards since the spring, the most of which must have come from above during the high water.

June 26. Fine. The people still busy with the canoes. Hunters killed nothing.

27. Lowering weather, thunder & light rain. The canoes were brought out of the woods to the water side, but they are not finished yet. 1 deer killed.

28. Heavy rain. People busy finishing their canoes. F. Champaign still continues very ill.

29. Foggy with rain, The canoes 3 in number being ready, I sent off 6 men accompanied by 3 Indians to ascend to the head of this fork to trap beaver. They are allowed 2 months to be back here if they find wherewith to employ themselves so long. They will have some difficulty in [214] getting up but from the accounts the

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Comments

June 29. McKenzie's Fork was the later McKenzie River, named for Donald McKenzie. This river enters the Willamette some ten miles below, but the distance to the river from camp was not more than four miles. Donald McKenzie was described by Ross in *Fur Hunters*, II, pp. 264-65, as "Perpetual Motion McKenzie." He was a Northwester but came overland with the Hunt party and returned in the employ of the North West Company in 1816. He was a notable figure in the early Snake River fur trade expeditions. After coalition of the North

Indians give of beaver being numerous it is expected that they will get a good many. An Indian who is acquainted with that place & speaks the language of the natives there, the Melilish is engaged to accompany the people. Two men remain with the families to hunt for them, & take care of the horses. These men are to have a share of the hunt the same as those who have gone off. Champaigne who is ill with the fever also remains but he is not concerned in the partnership. Gave Kanota a few articles to trade any beaver he may find and make trifling presents to the Indians.

Some Indians arrived in the afternoon from McKenzies fork & brought a few pieces of salmon. Traded 2 beaver.

June 30. Fine. Proceeded 10 miles N. W. to Mr. McKay's old house where I left the three men & Champaign & the men's families that are gone up the river, as this is said to be a better place for deer than where the canoes were made. [215] I then continued down the river 12 miles W. to the plain accompanied by De Champ, an Owyhee & an indian on the way to the fort with the

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Comments

West and Hudson's Bay companies in 1821, he became governor of the Red River colony. He accumulated property in the fur trade and died at Mayville, New York in 1840. He was a kinsman of Alexander Mackenzie. He was a remarkable rifle shot, skilled in woodcraft and Indian warfare and was an able Indian trader.

June 30. "McKay's old house" probably was at or near the confluence of Willamette and McKenzie rivers, some six miles north of the site of Eugene. From this place the canoes would ascend McKenzie River. John Work then continued the day's journey to a place apparently west of the site of Harrisburg. "McKay's old house" indicates that an earlier trading party under leadership of Thomas McKay had a temporary trading post there.

furs. The road lay through a hilly country, woods & clear ground, & the rest thinly timbered. The banks of the river are thickly wooded. A good deal of the soil is gravelly and of a poor quality, yet a good deal of pasture on the S side of the hills. The herbage is being already dried up. Some parts of the road stoney.

July 1. Fine. Continued our course 24 miles W. & W. N. W. down the river & then across a plain to the traverse at Lamitambuff[?] Met 2 Indians & traded the meat of a deer; three other Indians passed us but made a very short stay & appeared to be much afraid of something. Parts of plain gravelly & soil poor, herbage getting dry & the ground has an arid appearance; on the lower spots grass luxuriant.

July 2. Fine. Continued our course 6½ hours across the plain to River Lauries river where we camped. [216] The Indians set fire to the dry grass on the neighboring hill, but none of them came near us. The plain is also on fire on the opposite side of the Willamet.

July 3. Fine. Sent in the morning to an Indian village below to see if they had any beaver. 10 of them visited the camp & traded their beaver. These Indians are much alarmed lest they be attacked by the Umquahs. It seems some of their tribe a little ahead pillaged an Umquah Indian some time ago of a rifle, & that nation

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Comments

July 1. Lamitambuff probably was Sam Tomeleaf River of June 2 (Long Tom River). Camp apparently was several miles northeast of the site of Monroe. "Longtabuff River," tributary of the Willamette, is mentioned in David Douglas' journel, printed in London, 1914, page 236. This is probably a form of the modernized Long Tom. The name has had many variations. Wilkes gives *Lumtumbuff* (1841), in *Narrative*, V, 222.

July 2. River Lauries was Mary's River. See under June 1.

have threatened to come to war upon them. They also inform us that 4 men of Lautaude Indians have been killed & 3 children taken slaves a short time since, as they suppose by a party of Faladin or Yamhill Indians. It was 11 oclock when we had settled with these Indians after which we proceeded on our journey and camped at our station of 31st May.

As we were coming on we found a party of 32 men all armed & ready for war, supposing that a party [217] of the Umquahs were coming upon them. The smoke made near our camp was made to apprise them that strangers were coming. It was these people that had taken the rifle alluded to above. One Indian who is an Umquah who accompanied us & who was commissioned to get the rifle, demanded it from them, and after a great deal of talk they gave it to him. Where we are camped we found 8 or 10 Indians with the meat of 2 deer. They gave us a little. They are now busy dancing & singing & making merry with the produce of their chase.

July 4. Showery. Continued & camped. An Indian came some distance to trade 6 or 8 beaver & otters that he had, but he demanded such an exorbitant price that I did not trade. They will no doubt find their way to the fort. After 9½ hours march we camped on a small fork near Yamhill river not far from our station of 30th May. Several Yamhill Indians passed us going to their village which [218] is close by, on their way from the Willamet falls loaded with salmon which are now of an indifferent quality, having been carried 2 days in the sun. These people have no beaver, nor do they know of any Indians about here who have any. Part of a deer was obtained from an Indian today.

July 5. Cloudy. Proceeded 6 hours & camped not

Comments

July 4. Camp was near Amity. Willamette Falls were less than forty miles distant.

far from an Indian village opposite the Campment de Sauble. Traded a beaver & 8 otters from the Indians here. These people are preparing to go to war in a band of the same tribe a short way to the N. who killed one of their men a short time ago without any cause.

July 6. Fine. Continued on 5½ hours & camped on the 3rd fork from the N. of Faladin river. There are a number of Indians here which I suspect to be the people that killed the Indian above alluded to, though they deny it, as they are all armed & prepared for an attack. They have no beaver.

July 7. Fine. Proceeded 4½ hours to the [219] N. fork of the Faladin river. We were delayed 1½ hours carrying the baggage across the middle fork which is too deep to ford. Owing to the constant marching our horses are much jaded.

July 8. Fair. Continued our march & in 3½ hours crossed the mountain to the little Channel of the *Umquah*

Comments

July 5. Camp was on west side of Willamette River opposite Champoeg. John Work had been here on May 29.

July 6. Camp apparently was near South Fork of Tualatin River and Gaston, where the party camped May 27. This was the "fourth and last fork" of May 27, and the "third fork from the north fork" (McKay Creek) of Tualatin River.

July 7. Camp was on McKay Creek, this being the "north fork" of Tualatin River. The "middle fork," which made delay, apparently was Dairy Creek, where the party encountered similar delay on May 27.

July 8. The route was that of the mountain trail of May 24, as far as Willamette Slough or Multnomah Channel, near the site of Holbrook. Thence the route was northward to Scappoose plains where Thomas McKay lived. Travel was slow owing to the bad trail and the fagged condition of the horses.

[Willamette] when we continued down the river to Mr. McKay's place which we reached in 6 hours. The road lay sometimes along the plain & sometimes along to the height of the water. We had to pass through the woods where the road was very bad & difficult to pass owing to the thickets & fallen timber. We had also to unload & carry the baggage across a creek deep with steep clayey banks. The horses could not cross loaded. There are immense meadows all the way down along the river, & if the grass were not injured would yield an immense quantity of pasturage & hay. Where the water has recently dried off there is a thick crop of grass so tall that it reaches to the horses' [220] shoulders.

Mr McKay's place is in a beautiful situation. There is a plain of considerable extent surrounded by woods clothed with fine pasturage in which there is a considerable quantity of clover. The soil however is gravelly & appears of an inferior quality to the Faladin country. There is a considerable quantity of ground enclosed & under crop. One field of potatoes, 5 acres, has a fine appearance, but the wheat, barley, pease & Indian corn dont promise so abundant a crop. The house is built on the bank of a lake which communicates by channels with the small channel of the Willamet. The cattle & horses are in fine order. What a pity the low ground is subject to be inundated, for otherwise it would yield most abundant crops of every kind of grain.

July 9. Fine. Obtained a canoe from La Bonte and a boy as a guide & embarked at [221] 10 oclock & after winding through a number of small channels reached the

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Comments

July 9. Louis La Bonte provided the canoe for the journey to Fort Vancouver. Camp was six miles west of and below Fort Vancouver, on the Washington side, opposite the mouth of Willamette River. The "lake" was probably Sturgeon Lake in Sauvie Island, that being the

small or western channel of the Willamet which we ascended a considerable distance & crossed a lake (which now occupies a considerable portion of Wapitoe Island) and made a portage of 190 yds into the main channel of the Columbia which we ascended to opposite the upper fork of the Willamet where we encamped at sunset, as it would have been late in the night before we could have reached the fort.

A canoe with people from the "Llama" passed us in the evening on their way to the fort.

July 10. Fine weather. Proceeded on our way by daylight as we were glad to get away from swarms of mosquitoes, and reached the fort for breakfast.

Afterwards had the furs all opened and examined & stood by.

Comments

later name of Wapato Island. The "upper fork" of the Willamette was the present main channel of that stream. The vessel *Llama* was owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, for whom it was operated by Captain William O'Neil for trading purposes. The vessel evidently was anchored down river, at Fort George (Astoria), and had sent a small boat to Fort Vancouver. Captain O'Neil sailed the vessel to Columbia River in 1832, and sold it to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1833. Louis La Bonte came to Oregon with the Hunt overland party in 1811-12. He was an employee of the company in 1821-23 as numbers 989 and 798.

July 10. The party arrived at Fort Vancouver.

DIARY OF REVEREND GEORGE GARY—III
(CONTINUED)

Notes by CHARLES HENRY CAREY

[1845] Tuesday, Jan. 21. This day I receive from Doct. McLaughlin a bill of our indebtedness to Hudson Bay Company at Fort VanCouver, amounting to £974, 15 shillings and 9 p. at 4/6 to a dollar. No small amount, between five and six hundred pounds of this was due a year ago. Nearly three hundred is embraced in settling with and sending home the Sandwich Islanders. The remainder has been used by the missionaries in various forms. Added to this indebtedness, we shall owe the company for the passage to Sandwich Islands of Bro. Perkins and Doct. Babcock, and their families; this passage is by the day, so the amount cannot be ascertained until we hear from Sandwich Islands; probably the whole will nearly consume the sale made Doct. McLaughlin of city lots last July, which was $6,000. This sale I deem a very fortunate one; inasmuch as it was made so as to cancel this indebtedness. I think it was in reality worth nearly eight thousand dollars in drafts as these drafts by this company would have to be subjected to heavy discounts. Moreover, I think we are so arranging our affairs that this company may never again have the mission so completely dependent on them, or indebted to them. I design to and think I shall establish the principle nothing will be bought of them by the mission without payment, or a very ready and certain arrangement for paying in this country.

We have meeting this evening. It is very rainy and the river is rising.

Wednesday, 22. Bro. Abernethy busy in settling with the persons formerly connected with the mission, H. Campbell and others. We have evening meetings; they are of some interest.

Thursday, 23. Clouds, rain, rising river &c, &c, &c. We have from the upper settlement, D. Leslie, L. H. Judson, H. Campbell and wife. Company plenty. Busy in writing and reading.

Saturday, 25. Our friends from the upper mission are here yet; we have preaching every evening this week. The spirit appears somewhat reviving and encouraging. Mr. Abernethy is busy in settling with Bro. Campbell in reference to the former school and also his own accounts. It is difficult business to get to the ends of these rather confused affairs and this school business has been a very leaky business.

Sunday, 26. Today we have a very good meeting about sixty hearers; our congregation has much increased since the arrival of the emigrants. To day I finish my bible the fourth time since I left New York.

Monday, 27. Very stormy, strong south wind. Our friends from up the Williamette are kept here by the high water. No boating on the river, especially up when the river is as high as it now is. I pity Bro. Hines' family; they have as visitors, Bro. Leslie, Judson, Chapman, Campbell and wife; they have been in the place nearly two weeks and no calculation can be made when they will be able to return to the places of their residence. They are to Bro. Hines' nearly all the time. Somehow or other, Bro. Abernethy and family have a fine tact in not having much company and consequently the whole is by some means shoved off upon Bro. Hines. I think the board were only about tolerably fortunate in their selection of a steward for this mission. The more I become acquainted with him, the more I am forced to the opinion the choice was not a fortunate one.[1]

Tuesday, 28. Pleasant day. Sun shone nearly all day, the fairest day we have seen for more than three months.

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[1]Contrast the favorable estimate of Abernethy by Burnett. *(Recollections of An Old Pioneer,* p. 248); and by Medorem Crawford. *(Or. Pioneer Proc.,* 1886, p. 37).

Wednesday, 29. This is the coldest morning we have seen, since we left New York. The surface of the ground is stiffened a little by frost. Ice in little parcels of still water as thick as thin glass. Evening, The clouds and rain of an Oregon winter are again upon us.

Thursday, 30. Our brethren from up the river leave today. The weather is so rainy, Sister Campbell stays behind. I frequently find a disposition to dictate among the most of our lay brethren, especially in matters relating to their former departments; and more especially in reference to settling with them. They are occasionally very short in giving their opinion and directions. I am satisfied Bro. Lee has had a difficult set to deal with. I do not think one among all that I have dismissed feel right about it, unless it was Doct. Babcock; and I some suspect his apparent reconcilliation was as much from policy and the courtesies of a gentleman as from anything else. These brethren I fear will not make the best supporters of society. For example, Bro. Abernethy is the leading man in church here and is too good or too high to open the door of the meeting house or make a fire for Divine worship; the other male members here think, I suppose, they are about as good as he; consequently Bro. Hines or myself open the door and make the fire, and I generally ring the hand bell for the meeting; and it goes tolerably well; for he that will be the greatest should be the servant of all.

Saturday, February 1, 1845. Dark rainy weather. I find my feelings and thoughts flying among the fields and scenes of my former labors; look forward with hope to the time when I may be associated in those delightful fields of ministerial labor again. But all is submitted to an unerring Providence. "Thy will be done."

Sabbath, 2. Congregation of perhaps thirty five; by some means, the hearts of the irreligious seem as impervious to divine truth.

Monday, 3. Dark, rainy weather. Spirits prone to droop; but winter will not last forever.

Tuesday, 4. Beautiful day; sun shines with many charms. I have had some difficulty in my own mind settling the account at Fort VanCouver. I made an arrangement in July in the sale of the lots at Williamette Falls to Doct. McLaughlin to have this indebtedness met by him; but as it amounts to much more than was expected either by himself or myself, I have, after weighing the question as far as I am able, made a deduction on the Doct. purchase of ten per cent. i. e. six hundred dollars from the six thousand, and he gives us the credit on the Hudson Bay Company books at Fort VanCouver, five thousand four hundred dollars. This indebtedness exceeds my calculations; First, I supposed the Sandwich Islanders who were returned to Hudson Bay Company in June and July, 1844, were nearly paid, whereas for their labor and their return to the Islands, the mission has had to pay more than fifteen hundred dollars; this payment has been made by the Hudson Bay Company and charged to the mission as cash. They have taken Doct. Babcock and Bro. Perkins and their families to the Islands, which will probably be six hundred dollars. The Doct. expected we should have lessened our debt by delivering some wheat to the company, but as yet we have not done it. So in view of everything, I have made the arrangement as above. I had designed to save some of the Doct's. purchase, as money at interest in this land; his note was to run ten years annual interest at six per cent. Our indebtedness at this time to the Fort is nearly four thousand and seven hundred dollars; about half of this has lain over on interest for more than a year. Probably the passages above mentioned will nearly make up the credit we now have, viz: $5400. The arrangement I made with the milling company Dec. 21, 1844, will secure some money to this mission in this land. So our drafts hereafter need be small.

Saturday, 8. The weather is more pleasant, for a few days. I am busy in writing and reading.

Sunday, 9. Our meetings are of some interest, but something unaccountable; the word has but little or no effect.

Monday, 10. Dark and rainy. I am reading the bible with attention and interest. But my time does not turn to much account these days as far as my ministry is concerned.

Tuesday, 11. Today I receive from the Chenamus, 1 Tierce No. 15, 1 barrel No. —, brought in the Lausanne from New York to Honolulu, but they were somewhere among the cargo so we could not find them when we came away in the Brutus. By some mistake they are sent subject to freight from Oahu, which is $4.00. I pay it. One advantage after all, there are fewer in the mission than there was when we arrived; and these things will do these few an abundance of good.

Wednesday, 12. I am informed the express will leave Fort VanCouver 10th of March. I now begin to prepare my communications for the board and friends in the states. Probably I shall have no opportunity again until next fall. Then perhaps I will accompany them. I lend J. Force 20 yds. bagging, double width.

Thursday, 13. Busy writing to the board.

Friday, 14. Finish my letter to the board.

Saturday, 15. This morning, Bro. Hines is in trouble about his claims on the mission. When he left, 1843, he had his salary made up to December 1, 1843. Took a certificate to present to the board of nearly twelve hundred dollars. When he got to Oahu, Bro. Lee drew for him a draft of nine hundred dollars, which he laid out in part for goods to bring to Oregon after he concluded to return. Part of these goods were sold by Mr. Abernethy, and I suppose the debts made by the sale of the goods are entered to the credit of said Hines on the mission books. So now the mission owes him more than a thousand dollars.

This method of business does not suit me exactly. I propose that the mission pay in cash or a draft; the amount Bro. Hines returned from his certificate of 1843, his expenses at Oahu, his salary, his passage back from Oahu and two hundred dollars on the house lots (these lots and improvements are kept in the hands of the mission as a parsonage) and the remainder of his claim to be paid in this country deal. He finally consents and the storm passes over. I have kept cool while this cloud was rising.

Sunday, 16. Meeting about as usual. Evening, I heard ———— preach and it actually appeared to me they are not careful enough who they license to preach in this land. (It was an excellent cathartic to me.)

Monday, 17. Today I receive a bill from Fort Van-Couver presenting a charge against me as an individual for freight paid to Capt. Frese, Master of the Brutus, for 1 parcel to D. Lee, $1.05; box of bibles, $3.45; grave stones for Mr. Lee and others, $8.00, $12.50; give an order on Fort to credit George Gary said amount, and charge the mission said $12.50, and Mr. Abernethy charges the items to persons concerned.

Tuesday, 18. Today Mr. and Mrs. Campbell leave for their residence up the river.

Wednesday, 19. Write to Dr. McLaughlin to balance his books with C. Rogers[2] estate and credit the mission the amount $100.18. Also send an order from A. Beers to be credited to the mission, $45.00.

Thursday, 20. I hand my letters for the states to Mr. Ermitinger[3] for Hudson Bay Company's express, via Canada, 1 from D. Lester[4] to cors. secy. (mine 1 cors. secy., 1 M. Adams, 1 G. Gary, Jr.)

Monday, 24. Paid G. Hines in an order on Capt. Couch,[5] for board, $125.00. Today I receive a letter from Doct. McLaughlin stating Mr. Beers order for forty five

[2]Cornelius Rogers, drowned February 4, 1843.
[3]Frank Ermatinger.
[4]David Leslie(?).
[5]Capt. John H. Couch had a store at Oregon City (Cushing & Co.).

dollars and $100.18 from Rogers estate are put to the credit of the mission. Receive a long letter from A. F. Waller concerning the mission at the Dalls and missionary efforts in general. A letter also from H. B. Brewer.

Tuesday, 25. Reading the bible.

Wednesday, 26. This day I had an interview with J. L. Parish, a local preacher from Clatsop, mouth of Columbia River. He has officiated as an employed local preacher for six months since my arrival in the land. But from the information I obtained from time to time, concerning the amount of ministerial labor he performed, I have discontinued him. From his account of the Clatsop and Cheenooks Indians, they are passing away like the dew; there are but four children under one year old in both tribes. He thinks less than ten under six years old and over one. There are perhaps in the Clatsop tribe, 100; Cheenook, 300, including old and young.

[1845] Thursday, March 13. Our weather is becoming beautiful; the rains have ceased; the sun shines with considerable warmth and everything says spring has come. I have just had an interview with Miss Phillips,[6] and the understanding is, her claim on the mission for salary and board ceased last July, when I offered her a passage to the states at the time Mr. Waller was designing to go; but she continues her claim on the Board for a passage home whenever she may wish to go; any time within the ten years for which she came at first to this land. She is out of health; somewhat in years; what she may finally do, I know not. She is rather to be pitied.

Saturday, 15. Beautiful weather. I am busy writing to the Board, A. Adams, and H. R. Clark, and copying my journal. This week I sent Mr. Parish's bill against his Kanaka for $70.50 to Fort VanCouver. Presume it is put to the credit of the mission.

Sunday, 16. The preacher designs to discharge his duty to the few who attend the ministry of the word.

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[6]Elmira Phillips.

Tuesday, 18. Mr. Abernethy does not get through the mission books yet. I fear I shall have to implore the aid of Patience before I get through this business with the books of the mission and steward.

Wednesday, 19. I have just had an interview with Mr. Abernethy; he is busy in making out his report to the Board; he makes out the mercantile department of the mission has been very profitable; it is my opinion this profit is more in figures than in anything else. Moreover, I suspect there has been aid and expense attendant on this department, that has never been charged to it. I find an unwillingness in each to have his department come out heavily minus.

Thursday, 20. Today Bro. Leslie arrived from the Institute; to take us up next Monday. Very busy in closing our accounts with Mr. Abernethy.

Friday, 21. Settled with Bro. Hines, paid for 37 2/7 week's board, for self and wife, $5.00 per week, $186.43. Order formerly mentioned on Capt. Couch, $125.00, on Rogers estate. My private stores, $47.54. Donation goods, $13.89, total $186.43. Received an order from G. Hines on Mr. Abernethy for $7.81 for donation goods formerly entered. Paid expense up the Will. from donation, $7.81.

Saturday, 22. Today we are very busy in preparing to go up the river next Monday. Also finish my letters for the secy., Mr. Adams, and H. B. Clark; hand them over to Mr. Ermatinger.

Sunday, 23. Bro. Leslie preaches today; L. H. Judson also in the evening. The sermons were very respectable.

Monday, 24. Start early; as soon as it is light; for up the river, start from the upper landing at seven o'clock; this is about a mile from the Falls. The current is so strong near the Falls so that the people very uniformly go to the upper landing, since the death of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Leslie's daughters. These persons and two or three more were taken over the falls by passing

lower and by some means getting into the current and found their watery graves. Our present company consists of D. Leslie, Mr. Hatch,[7] Miss Phillips, Mrs. Gary, myself and a crew of three, two colored persons and Mr. Chapman.[8] After a hard effort, our crew reached the Butte. There we expect wagons to meet us; one is here, we must wait for the other. We pass somewhat comfortable under the boughs of a fir tree, a rainy night, spread our umbrella over our head so that the drops of rain which get through our leaky roof do not fall on our faces; here we enjoy sweet and refreshing sleep; find our bedding and wearing apparel wet some as we wake and enter upon the scenes of the morning; but few in the states know how little they can do with. Surely man needs but little.

Tuesday, 25. We stir early; prepare and eat breakfast. In a little while the other wagon comes; we pick up and load up and start off. Mr. Raymond[9] takes in his wagon Miss Phillips and part of our plunder (as the westerners call it). Mr. Leslie takes the remainder of the baggage, Mrs. Gary and myself, and we are soon off. But not quite so soon neither, for one of Bro. Leslie's horses baulks, but a free use of the whip makes him go and on we go and so we go over the delightful prairies. Our balky horse is dull and lazy; our driver, Bro. Leslie, has a diligent and hard days work to whip him along. While passing over a large prairie two deer pass in full view and at full speed. On our route, the wagon breaks but as necessity is the mother of invention, we contrive to repair our broken vehicle, and after perhaps an hour's delay, we are under way again, and finally reach Bro. Leslie's at about four o'clock. So we are now at the parsonage, a pleasant place. Commence boarding at D. Leslie's.

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[7]Peter H. Hatch.
[8]William Chapman.
[9]W. W. Raymond.

About tea time, we hear Bro. Hauxhurst[10] has lost a child about three years and six months old; drowned in the mill creek. It is not known how he got into the water. A sudden death. Mr. H. passed by our house a few hours ago, in a wagon with all his family in it. Now one of the number is with the dead.

[1845] Sunday, April 13. Today the funeral of Bro. Hauxhurst's child was attended. Bro. Leslie preached. This Bro. H. is more a pleasant and agreeable man than the ordinary class of men. He was born in Brooklyn, near New York, was formerly a sailor, left his vessel in California, came into this country nearly ten years ago with all the propensities of a depraved life. The cause of temperance first took him and he was rescued from his cups. In a little while, he took an Indian girl and lived with her as he pleased. Conscience troubled him, and he furnished this girl with blankets and sundry other articles, and sent her, as he supposed, to her people. In the night, I am informed, he heard her at his door beseeching him to let her in, averring her love to him and promising to be good to him if he would let her live with him; his purpose in part yielded; he let her in; and knowing it was wicked for them to live together as they had done, he, in a short time, soon experienced religion, and is now a respectable man in the community, only he has a squaw for his wife. This, it is presumed, is the source for great mortification to himself and affliction to his friends; yet he is leading a religious life; his oldest child is at school and he takes a great interest in his children. But the Father of all has taken this little one home; where he will never suffer either in his feelings or relations in life for being a half-breed.

Monday, 14. Examined the box of books; sold it to Rev. D. Leslie. The almanacs were deposited on our ar-

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[10]Webley J. Hauxhurst, built first grist mill in Willamette Valley in 1834. He was converted in January, 1837, and became a Methodist. (Lee and Frost, p. 143.)

rival in the stores. The remainder of the bill, $147.27, one third off, left $97.52, five per cent added for freight made $102.39. Box 75c, total charged to D. Leslie as salary, $103.14.

Saturday, 19. Spent the week mostly in reading; reading Elliott on Romanism. What a blessing to be born and edcated in the land of Protestantants where the bible is of ready access. Bed bugs slaughtered today.

Sunday, 20. Preached today in the Institute to perhaps 40 persons; half or more of them members of the school. Baptize a child of Mr. Hauxhurst's; last Sunday the funeral of one of his children, today he gives another to the Divine Being in baptism.

Monday, 21. Today I finish the bible in course the fifth time since I left the state.

Saturday, 26. I am reading Elliott on Romanism. I am favored with time for reading, more than I ever was before. Occasionally something comes along which requires thought, and perhaps some decision in reference to some persons and things heretofore connected with the mission, but the elements are generally very quiet. For about a month, we have had cold and rainy weather; we are favored in not having to travel and tent out this weather.

[1845] Saturday, May 3. Beautiful weather; April has been a very rainy month, but May promises fair weather so far. Vegetation is growing rapidly. This day I finish reading Elliott on Romanism; a great work. Surely here is much good laid up for many years on this question of so much interest to the Protestant or Christian world. There are but few situations if any in this life free from annoyances. We have now fine weather, fine room, fine board, fine time to read and a few vexations, cause: labor, light, &c &c. But there is so much scolding in the family with which we board that it is really annoying; but let me record it to the honor of the fairer sex, it is not from the woman of the house. Query:

Ought the man of the house to be labored with on this subject?

Tuesday, 6. We ride a few miles in nature's oak park, the most enchanting and delightful scenery of the kind I ever saw, the ground, the trees, all beautiful; such is the variety and beauty of the flowers as to present themselves in every step; it is like a flower garden, a flower garden, indeed, on a large scale, to an extent unmeasured, and it hardly seems right that our horses should step—

[1845] Monday, June 2. Beautiful, fine weather. The month of May has been rainy and cold, but summer has now come. We have passed through the seasons of the year in Oregon, it being a year yesterday since we arrived at Williamette Falls.

Tuesday, 3. This day is election day in this territory; politicians wide awake. Governor, sheriff, territorial attorney, treasurer, recorder, judge and assessor, besides county and military officers. There are four tickets,—four great political parties. Tickets are denominated Republican, Farmer, People, and Farmer, but more properly Hudson Bay Company ticket. Now is the time for office. The candidates for governor are Gov. Abernethy, O. Russel,[11] J. L. Lovejoy,[12] and Wm. Bailey,[13] less, I believe, than five hundred tickets or votes taken.

Monday, 9. We learn that Geo. Abernethy is elected governor of Oregon. In this election, it appears the American interests have a strong claim upon the affections of the population of this land. Also the cause of temperance has its successful friends and supporters. The friends of Alcohol, voted, I suppose, for Wm. Bailey. The Hudson Bay Company's sycophants for O. Russell or J. O. Lovejoy. Mr. Russell, more openly Hudson Bay. Mr. Lovejoy on or off from Hudson Bay Company as he thinks he will best secure office and honor. Though I am

[11]Osborne Russell.
[12]A. L. Lovejoy.
[13]Dr. William J. Bailey.

no politician, I am pleased with the result of this election. We are anxiously waiting some arrival in the Columbia with the news from the states; nearly fifteen months since the date of our latest letters from our friends. Not a word concerning general conference. We have no idea who are the new bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church. We have no guess who fills the presidential chair of our dearly beloved country. This want of news of friends, church and country to those who love friends, church and country is no small evil.

Wednesday, 11. We are preparing to go ten miles up the Williamette to Mr. Campbell's; have two or three men exploring the pasture to find the horses all the morning up to eleven o'clock; have not as yet found all we want. We labor under some inconveniences in having so large a pasture; it includes an unknown portion of the planet earth. One o'clock p. m. We start for Hulpum,[14] all on horse back. Company consists of D. Leslie and wife, G. Hines and wife, Mrs. Abernethy and her son, William; Julia Bryant, Lucy Anna Maria Lee, Mrs. Gary and myself. A delightful ride over hill and dale; the highest richest grass I have seen in the territory. We waded through on our way in places today. Like a most luxuriant meadow in the state of New York just before mowing. In one of these places, we were saluted with the rattle of a rattle snake. One of our company dismounted and killed him. We arrived in due season at Bro. Campbell's; a part of our company put up at Holden's,[15] a near neighbor to Mr. C.

Thursday, 12. We ride about four miles to see the place where Mr. Campbell and Mr. H. are preparing to build on a higher part of this beautiful prairie; where they now live, they are exposed to the ravages of high water, as the banks of the Sandyam[16] overflow and con-

[14]Chehulpum (Chinook for the place of beaver).
[15]Horace Holden; for biography see Vol. I, p. 467, Bancroft's *Oregon*.
[16]Santiam River.

vert thousands of acres into the appearance of a sea. D. Leslie, wife, and William Abernethy return.

Friday, 13. Doct. Whitman, from the Presbyterian mission, visits us. Our interview is a short one. Perhaps I cannot give an opinion concerning him; upon but one point with safety, and that is that he is not a slow or small talker.

Saturday, 14. We ride up the Sandyam a few miles to see the country and gather strawberries.

Sunday, 15. Have meeting at Mr. Campbell's.

Tuesday, 17. We return to Bro. Leslie's. Kill a rattle snake on our way and see at different times bounding deer. I do not think we have seen in this short tour a half a dozen Indians; comparatively speaking, there are no Indians, or at least very few, in this Williamette portion of the country. We have had very fine weather and in every respect a pleasant time in this town. On Saturday evening, I was weighed; weigh 166 pounds, about 25 pounds larger than I was in the state of New York. I am getting to be a great man.

Wednesday, 18. Visited at Mr. Holman's in company with D. Leslie and wife, and G. Hines and wife.

Thursday, 19. Our company took dinner at Mr. Hauxhurst's. We had an excellent dinner; Mrs. H. is a native. At our dinner, we have good new potatoes and good boiled cabbage, this year's growth. Oregon is really a goodly land.

Friday, 20. We are having warm, dry weather; the dry season has commenced; There is but little dew in the night in the dry part of the year in this country.

Sunday, 22. Meeting at the Institute; perhaps forty persons present; more than half under fourteen years of age. How enchanting a quarterly meeting on some circuit in Herkimer district would be.

Monday, 23. They are in great trouble, as near as I can guess, at the Institute. Mr. Raymond, who keeps the boarding hall, has whipped one of the scholars, unreason-

ably; the father has come to see about it. Bro. Leslie asks no advice; is so reserved and cross I hardly know what to do. I never had any idea a good man and minister could scold so much and be so unpleasant in his family as he is, until we came here to board. Now he is in real trouble about this whipping. I would sympathize with him, as he is deeply interested in the school, only he is too elbowish for sympathy to approach him, and so much acid about him, it must essentially change the properties of sympathy into something else; so we keep our room and know but little, only as we catch it accidentally. I am satisfied the scholars in the former Indian manual labor school were unreasonably and unmercifully corrected, and in many respects, the school was more like a place of correction and imprisonment than a place of charitable and kind instruction. Excessive whipping, hand-cuffs, fetters and chains were somewhat common in those days, but the school is now for whites and it will be found indispensible to have the school governed in a mild and consistent manner. Report says that one of the Hudson Bay Company's vessels has entered the Columbia river. Report also says Mr. Polk has been elected president of the United States of America. We are hoping for letters.

Thursday, 26. We received letters and papers from Sandwich Islands. Letters are from Mr. Daman and Mr. Hall; papers are "The Friend," edited by Mr. D. By these we learn Polk is president; Texas is annexed; also a small paragraph which says, "The Methodist Episcopal church is divided into northern and southern." Said to have taken place in general conference in 1844. It is not easy to conceive the anxiety I feel to know the truth of this statement, and, if true, the particulars concerning it.

Saturday, 28. As there is a probability of a chance to send letters by a small company over the mountains, we are busy in writing a few.

Sunday, 29. Preached at the Institute.

Monday, 30. Writing letters for the states, and preparing to go to the Dalls.

[1845] Tuesday, July 1. Cool, cloudy, some rain. Busy writing.

Wednesday, 2. At camp meeting on the north side of Mill creek, perhaps ¾ of a mile from our boarding place. G. Hines preached the first sermon at 8 p. m. Mat. 18:20. Four tents, sixteen person present.

Thursday, 3. Eight a. m., L. H. Judson preached from St. John, 15:5, 33 present. Ten a. m., E. Garrison preached from John 10:9. 31 present. Two p. m., D. Leslie from John 6:28 and 29. 33 hearers. Seven p. m., G. Hines, Zach. 9:12. 36 hearers.

Friday, 4. Eight a. m., D. Leslie, Hosea 2:15. Ten a. m., G. Gary, Psalms 15. 50 at each. Two p. m., G. Hines, Numbers 10:29. present, 66. Seven p. m., E. Garrison, 1st Kings, 18:21. 52 present.

Saturday, 5. Eight a. m., D. Leslie, Psalms 51:12 and 13. 46 present. Ten a. m. L. H. Judson, 2nd Cor. 6:2. 60 hearers. Two p. m., G. Gary, Gen. 19:17, 88 present. Seven p. m., G. Hines, Ezek. 9:4 to 6. 70 hearers.

Sunday, 6. Eight p. m., W. H. Wilson, Prov. 1:24 to 26, 80 hearers. Ten a. m., G. Gary, Psalms 45:5. The largest congregation, say 120, old and young. Two p. m., G. Hines, St. John 1:29. Nearly the same number. Seven p. m., D. Leslie, Prov. 4:18 and 19, 75 hearers.

Monday, 7. At Eight this morning, we closed our camp meeting. A few had experienced religion. About 40 at the sacrament, Sunday. In the number, quite a proportion children, say 20 students from the Institute. Yet the congregation appeared respectable in deportment and intelligence. Good will result from this meeting.

Tuesday, 8. We are at our room, so much controversy in the family, we hardly dare come within sight or hearing of the man of the house, lest we should be either scared or afflicted with his scolding. In counsel some about going to the Falls to board.

Wednesday, 9. Settled with Rev. D. Leslie. Paid him for 16 weeks board, $4.00 per week, $64.00. Paid formerly for traveling expense up to this place, $7.81. Add now as an overplus as an expense not heretofore brought in, $1.19. Paid him in a note against H. Campbell for interest on note given June 27, 1844; as D. Leslie's salary, $228.04. This board bill paid up to July 15, $5.25, out of my own things.

Donation goods from barrels 14 and 15, $59.55; box of books already charged, $103.14; order from G. Hines, already charged, $7.81; H. Campbell's due bill, $228.43; Bennett, $4.25 Demijohn $1.00; (mine) Total D. Leslie, Dr. $404.18. Board 16 weeks at $4.00, $64.00; traveling expenses paid for G. Gary, $9.00; For salary, April, $103.14; July 9, 1845, salary, $228.04; Total D. Leslie, Credit, $404.18.

Thursday, 10. Very agreeably and profitably entertained in reading The Christian Student, a little volume lately issued from the Book Room.

Friday, 11. Visit at Mr. Barton Lee's.[17]

Sunday, 13. Meeting at Institute. Mr. Saxton[18] is present and stays in class and informs us that he has experienced religion. The camp meeting was a blessing to him and to a number of others; surely the Lord has respect to His cause in this dark land.

Monday, 14. We are preparing to go to the Falls in hopes to receive news from the states soon.

Tuesday, 15. After considerable fixing so as to balance the boat and make it safe, we start, leaving a part of our baggage behind. Put ourselves again upon the uncertain waters of the Williamette. Company consists of Bro. and Sister Hines, Lucy Anna Marie Lee, Mrs. G.

[17]Barton Lee represented Champoeg District in the Legislative Committee of the Provisional Government, June, 1845. *(Or. Archives,* p. 71.)

[18]Joseph Charles Saxton, an immigrant of 1844, went with Dr. Elijah White to find a pass in the Cascade Mountains in 1845. He published the Organic Laws of the Provisional Government, 1846. Gray's *History of Oregon,* p. 352.)

Gary and myself, one Kanaka and an Indian. Go perhaps eight miles and put up for the night. It was the middle of the afternoon when we started. Having no tent, we make our bed under a tree and are annoyed by the mosquitoes in no small degree.

Wednesday, 16. Still passing down the river. Mosquitoes at night.

Thursday, 17. Reach the Falls; find ourselves boarding again at Bro. Hines'.

Friday, 18. Rest and retirement.

Saturday, 19. Mr. Abernethy has just arrived from Oahu; brings no letters from the states for us. No news concerning Rev. J. Lee. Surely we have a dirth of news.

Sunday, 20. About 25 hearers.

Monday, 21. To make myself contented and happy in this great dirth of news, busy reading the holy bible. Bro. Hines and family are in no small difficulty to know what to do provided they get no news from or concerning Rev. J. Lee; they having the charge of Bro. Lee's child; are laboring under great doubt to know what to do with her without some information on that point.

Tuesday, 22. I am so blanked for want of news it is difficult to keep my mind quiet and attentive for reading. I have been thinking over the sufferings of the prisoners in the state penitentiaries of New York and am led to think the want of society is not among the small sufferings of a state of imprisonment. It is something like being buried alive, to live and know nothing of the church at home, children, parents, &c, of our dearly beloved country.

Wednesday, 23. We learn a Sweedish vessel has come into the Columbia river. Possibly we may have letters in her.

Friday, 25. Bro. Hines and myself and families go down the river about 12 miles to the Chenamus and borrow sundry papers from the states. Not a Christian Advocate among them. They are filled with politics; by

them we learn, however, Doct. Janos and L. L. Hamline were elected bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church at the general conference for 1844. Also a vote touching slavery in reference to Bishop Andrew passed said general conference; yeas, 110; nays 68. Slavery can never expect that the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church will cordially recognize the various and important duties connected with the general superintendency of said church as performed by a man embarrased with American slavery.

Saturday, 26. Busy in reading papers from the states.

Sunday, 27. We have in our meeting today about 20 Indians (Nez Percés) from the upper country. Fine looking men. They are from Mr. Spaulding's mission, now in this place on business.

Tuesday, 29. Rode about four miles to Mr. Hatch's.

[1845] Friday, August 1. Returned to Bro. Hines'. Gave an order on Dr. McLaughlin for $825.00, the amount of passage of Doct. Babcock and Mr. Perkins and families from Columbia river to Honolulu.

Saturday, 2. For a few days, we have been in great suspense about whether Bro. Hines will start for the states this fall or whether he will stay and let us return. This morning it is settled, Bro. Hines is to return; we probably shall remain in this land another year.

Tuesday, 5. G. E. Garrison[19] this day presents an account against the mission school for $261.00 for teaching. No small item to be overlooked in the settlement with the school expenses. Very much in character with Mr. Campbell's careless way of doing business.

Thursday, 7. Busy writing to send to the states. We keep writing to our friends though we receive so little from them.

Sunday, 10. 20 hearers.

Monday, 11. Today busy in arranging various matters in reference to settling with Bro. Hines.

[19]Probably J. W. Garrison.

Tuesday, 12. Busy writing.

Wednesday, 13. Bro. Waller, from the Dalls, is with us. We are busy in preparing to keep house. I make a bill of crockery and iron ware of $10.10, one piece of calico, $9.90; total $20.00.

Thursday, 14. I arrange passage for Mr. and Mrs. Hines and two children to Sandwich Islands, $150.00; from there to the states, $520.00.

Friday, 15. This day I perfect a draft for the above passages. Mr. Hauxhurst presents a bill against the mission school for $200. Never did I see the equal of this school for confusing in closing up its concerns. It was supposed long ago, everything was settled; but now within a few days, nearly five hundred dollars has come in against this leaky concern;

Saturday, 16. On settlement with Bro. Hines, I pay him off by drawing on the treasurer for him $668.00

Sunday, 17. About 30 hearers.

Monday, 18. Today I pay in specie $75.00 for draft from J. Lee, Aug. 19, 1842; also for D. Leslie, $35.45. G. Hines, Dr. cash $185.00; cash again 45c; draft on the board, $668.00; on Oahu $900.00. This day I finish my letters; 2 to the board, 2 to Moses Adams; 1 to Bishop Hedding; 1 to Geo. Gary, Jr. All of these were delivered to over the mountain company July 1 except one to the board, 1 to Mr. Adams and 1 to Bishop Hedding.

Tuesday, 19. This day I am favored (if a favor it be) with a bill from Fort VanCouver, for lumber borrowed by the mission; between thirteen and fourteen thousand feet, borrowed in 1841. I have some comfort when I receive these old unsettled bills; I think every one is the last. At any rate, each one diminishes from the number remaining.

Wednesday, 20. We are having considerable of a rain which is very uncommon for this season of the year. Bro. Hines has much to try his patience in settling up his affairs. The purchasers of his claims are by no means

prompt. Gave an order on Mr. Abernethy in favor of J. W. Garrison for $261.00 to pay his school bill.

Thursday, 21. Five o'clock p. m. Bro. Hines and family given the parting hand. They start for the states. We are left upon this distant shore to pass another year. Providence orders wisely.

Saturday, 23. I feel rather lonely and solitary; none in this immediate vicinity that I can calculate as my social and intimate friends. Without being a prophet, I can foresee that most of my time will be spent under my quiet and peaceful roof.

Sunday, 24. From 30 to 40 attentive hearers. I can almost hope these Sabbath seasons are not in vain to these hearers.

Saturday, 30. This is the time of some affliction. I have the ague and fever. I am unable to read, write, visit or preach at least every other day. I have spoken to Mr. Abernethy to read a sermon tomorrow, as it will probably be my sick day.

[1845] Wednesday, September 3. I am greatly favored to human view; I am through with the ague; the attack was slight and short; remarkably so; Providence is tender and kind; insensibility and ingratitude, be gone.

Sunday, 7. About 30 hearers.

Monday, 8. We hear by Mr. Ogden[20] that Mr. J. Lee reached the states in safety.

Tuesday, 9. I suffered considerably from tooth ache; it kept me awake nearly all night, and while watching with my aching teeth, I heard an ox break into my garden; I soon drove him out and saved my garden.

Friday, 12. I am busy reading Mr. Wesley's journal.

Sunday, 14. About our usual number at meeting. I propose to do my duty to these people in plain, close preaching.

Thursday, 18. Yesterday I read a letter Bro. Leslie

[20]Peter S. Ogden.

had just received from Rev. J. Lee, dated August, 1844. He has made up his mind to return to this territory.

Saturday, 20. Patience and courage keep to your post. Another bill against the Indian manual labor school, by Mrs. Holman, one hundred and fifty seven dollars and some cents. Mrs. Holman (Miss Phelps) served the mission about nine months, i. e. which was nine months before she was married after she arrived in the mission, for which she has no credit. Mr. Abernethy gave her credit for $75.00, to be open for any other adjustment after the arrival of Bro. Lee.

Monday, 22. Receive a letter from Bro. Waller. I am very profitably employed in reading Mr. Wesley's journal.

Thursday, 25. We hear the forward persons in the emigration have reached Fort VanCouver. Expectation is awake to have them arrive here, and especially to have letters from friends in the states. Our weather is very fine, a most favorable time for the emigrants. Report says, "3,000 are coming."—Possibly there may be 1,000.

Friday, 26. We purchased of Bro. Hines a very good garden; a very fine lot of melons were stolen last night. We, however, had had more of them before the stealing than we expected to get of them, so we won't complain much.

Saturday, 27. Cloudy, appearance of rain soon. This day one emigrant reaches this place. Poor fellow, he is so thronged about with persons asking questions as by platoon; he has no chance even to answer, I do not see him. We are anxious for letters and the Christian Advocate and Journal.

Sunday, 28. About our usual number at meeting. Say 30. Fine weather.

[1845] Wednesday, October 1. I have been busy for a few days in digging my potatoes in the garden. Have perhaps 20 bushels. A few more emigrants last evening.

Thursday, 2. Bro. Leslie and family arrived to spend a few days with us.

Saturday, 4. Frost this morning to injure our vines in the garden.

Sunday, 5. Our quarterly meeting. 19 communicants.

Monday, 6. Bro. Leslie and family leave. Another error against the mission farm of $73.58. It really appears as though there has been great carelessness in keeping the account.

Wednesday, 8. The emigrants are coming into the country; so far but few have passed this place. We hear two were drowned at the cascades. It is said one was a Baptist minister. No letters yet. Learned afterwards, one only, Mr. Moore.

Friday, 10. Nine a. m. More than one hundred head of horn cattle have just passed our door, attended by a number of emigrants. The weather is beutiful. They are coming in in fine spirits. Report they have had excellent weather, left Independence the 2nd day of May, and are coming into Oregon as a land of promise with great hopes.

Saturday, October 11. We are having most beautiful weather. Emigrants keep arriving in small companies; from the statements of all so far the emigration will perhaps number more than two thousand, and more than five hundred wagons.

Sunday, 12. Our place is rather confused or unsettled by the arrival of new emigrants; almost everybody wishes to see them and propose their questions, many inquire for friends on the arrival of emigrants. Under this excitement and curiousity, our congregation is smaller than usual; only about twenty hearers.

Monday, 13. Today I received a letter from Dr. McLaughlin stating he could not take wheat on Dr. Babcock's account and credit the Methodist mission.

Tuesday, 14. Quite a stir concerning a parcel of emigrants coming from the Dalls by the way of Mount Hood

with their wagons; heretofore all the wagons have been brought in boats down the Columbia river at great expense, say $30 a wagon, but now it is said a small company of emigrants are by taking a circuitous route like to reach the Williamette with their teams, wagons, &c, altogether; if this is accomplished, wagons may pass from the Mississippi River to the Pacific ocean. A small company from this place have just started to meet these enterprising and hardy emigrants and take on pack horses about twelve hundred pounds of flour; their meeting will doubtless be a joyful one; the great peril and trouble with the emigrants in coming to this place is from the Dalls to the Williamette valley. There is no calculating the benefit of a passage by land for teams and wagons.

Wednesday, 15. After so long a time, we are cheered with a letter from Rev. A. Adams, dated March 20, 1845, in which we learn of the continued life and health of our very dear friends in the state of New York. Surely this letter is like water to a very, very thirsty man. This was brought by an emigrant over the mountains. We expected more.

Friday, 17. Cloudy, dark and rainy as though Oregon winter was setting in. Busy writing to friends in the states.

Saturday, 18. Emigrants are coming in, in small companies and appear very respectable.

Sunday, 19. Beautiful weather again. Congregation small; say about 20.

Monday, 20. Today we hear there is an American vessel in the Columbia river; we are in hopes of letters and papers.

Wednesday, 22. Busy in writing.

Friday, 24. Cloudy and rainy.

Saturday, 25. Dull weather. Reading Mr. Wesley's journal; surely he was raised up for a special work and his abundant labors were a very special blessing to the religious world. This evening I receive a letter from Mr.

Brewer, giving information that the emigrants, "The Meek Party", many of them are sick; quite a number have died; a disease prevails among them resembling the old camp distemper in the Revolutionary war; the effect of their toil, destitution, and the impure water they drank in their lost and dreadful situation. Mr. Brewer is about worn out and discouraged in waiting upon the emigrants, and inquires what shall be done; Mrs. Waller was confined last Sabbath and delivered a fine boy; Mr. Waller had to be the doctor in the case; all said to be doing well.

Sabbath, 26. Rainy morning. Not quite twenty at meeting. Evening, the rain abates, congregation larger.

Monday, 27. Fair weather again. We take great interest in the weather these days in view of the emigrants. The probability is the entire number of this year's emigration is about three thousand souls, six hundred wagons and fifteen thousand head of cattle; So writes Mr. Brewer who has a pretty good opportunity to ascertain the number. A large proportion of this large emigration are as high up the Columbia as the Dalls and some still further back. Their passage down the river is difficult, dangerous and slow as there are very ———

[1845] Monday, November 24. This day we receive a box of books from the vessel in which we find the Northern C. Advocate, a few Advocates and some other papers. Our eyes will now weary with reading.

Tuesday, 25. Bro. Abernethy reads me a letter from a distinguished member of the board in N. Y., informing us of the death of Rev. Jason Lee, late superintendent of Oregon mission. He has gone, gone from his labors and cares for this new and rising portion of the earth; where his fairest hopes have bloomed, bloomed with a great deal of promise but painfully faded to a considerable extent. As I have had some opportunity to see his footsteps in this territory, I feel safe in saying I believe he was actuated by large and generous views for the natives and emigrants of this colony; and that he was aided by others

in forming these sanguine views, and that he and others were sadly disappointed in the unfavorable results of the many enterprises in which he or they engaged. But he rests from his labors, cares and mortifications. Respect to his memory as far as sacrifice, toil and motive are concerned.

Wednesday, 26. Busy in reading the Northern C. Advocate, the church, the dear Methodist E. church (to which I am an insolvent debtor) has had trouble enough; perhaps it is well for me, I am so far away at this time; I might do or say or feel something which could afflict me were I in the midst of such excitement. From the papers I am led to form the opinion Bishop Soule has not all the prudence that some of his distinguished colleagues have.

Thursday, 27. Beautiful weather, very different from last year. Today another leak in Mr. Campbell's accounts of the Indian school is presented by Mr. Hauxhurst, he, Mr. H., being charged twice with $80.89.

Friday, 28. This day we receive the box containing the Christian Advocate and Journal. The news of more than a year breaks in upon us like an overwhelming torrent. The eyes pay a heavy duty on this importation. Receive also a letter from Cors. secy., via. of express through Canada, dated March 26, 1845. Postage $1.00.

Saturday, 29. The weather continues very fine—very different from what it was a year ago.

Sunday, 30. Congregation is increasing some; the emigrants make the addition. Two years this day since we left the port and city of New York. Fine weather.

[1845] Tuesday, December 2. Bro. Leslie visits us. Hold a consultation about employing J. L. Parrish as a preacher. I believe I shall employ him one year.

Thursday, 4. We conclude to have a funeral sermon on the occasion of the death of Rev. J. Lee. Bro. Leslie is to preach it next Sabbath, half past ten.

Saturday, 6. Write to Bro. Waller, Brewer and J. L. Parrish.

Sunday, 7. Bro. Leslie preaches a funeral sermon on the death of Rev. J. Lee. Text Luke 7:4 and 5. "That he was worthy for whom he should do this; for he loveth our nation." The performance no way remarkable.

Monday, 8. This day I am fifty two years old. I have completed the reading of the journal of the general conference as reported in the Christian [Advocate] and Journal. I do not think that I have seen any period since we left the states that I have felt half as disturbed in my feelings as I should have felt had I attended the general conference in 1844.

Wednesday, 10. This day, we receive the remainder of our papers, books and also two barrels of donation goods from the Toulon. A fine supply of good reading; the donation goods are also a very great favor. The bibles and testaments from the American Bible Society are in good season, as many of the emigrants have lost their bibles on their journey and now receive a bible with great delight and gratitude; it is pleasurable to be the agent in these noble charities.

Sunday, 14. Congregation larger than usual; great attention to the word.

Tuesday, 16. I have just been to see about buying some dried apples; they are 25c a pound (specie); too much for a circuit preacher to think of buying. I have made an arrangement to send a barrel of flour to Rev. S. C. Damon and another to E. O. Hall, Honolulu, as a token of respect for their attention and kindness to us when on our way to this land.

Wednesday, 17. Drew for Mr. Abernethy on Fort VanCouver for sixty dollars—Lent to be returned by the first of March—$50 returned, $10 returned.

Saturday, 20. We are having beautiful weather; but little rain compared to last year. Pleasant days and

frosty nights; ice in small places of standing water, say half an inch thick.

Sunday, 21. Mr. Johnson,[21] Baptist Missionary lately arrived preached in our meeting house; hope his labors in this land may do good; here is plenty of water in the Williamette.

Monday, 22. Paid Mr. Crawford[22] for wood, &c., &c., see his bill, in a draft on Mr. Abernethy, $41.61. Our papers and new books keep us busy.

Thursday, 25. We have just butchered our pigs. Bought of Mr. Crawford another one.

Saturday, 27. Warm, rainy weather; some sickness about us.

Sunday, 28. About 40 hearers. It sometimes seems as though good would be done by these sanctuary seasons.

Thursday, January 1, 1846. New Year. Forty five has gone. Gone never to return. In view of the frailty, weaknesses, imperfections and faults of the past, the foot of the cross is the only place of hope and of safety. Here may I abide. May I record it. There is occasionally an uneasiness to return to the states that I may see my many and my very dear friends again in the land of the living. Moreover, the state of the mission as far as I am able to judge, does not call for my remaining long in this territory. I am by no means dissatisfied in remaining here at present; but it does seem as though there will be some opening in the course of 1846 like a Providential opening for our return. Providence smiled on our coming here, I want it equally apparent that Providence smiles on our return.

Friday, 2. Write letters today to send by the Toulon to the Sandwich Islands; then through Mexico to the states. (One sheet Dr. Pitman and Dr. Babcock and one sheet to M. Adams and G. Gary, Jr.)

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[21]Rev. Hezekiah Johnson.
[22]Medorem Crawford.

Saturday, 3. Delivered these letters to Mr. Stark,[23] Supercargo on board the Toulon. Sent postage $1.00.

Sabbath, 4. Four p. m. married Mr. George Neal and Miss Millie Stephenson. Mr. Neal has been in this territory a little more than a year. Miss Stephenson less than three months. Girls find quick market in Oregon. $1.50

Wednesday, 7. Received letters from Bros. Waller and Brewer. They give accounts up to Jan. 1, and it appears they had not heard of the death of Rev. J. Lee. Bro. Waller has very large views of enterprise and labor among the Indians at the Dalls. It is rather my opinion he will always be uneasy in his situation with the appropriations which shall be deemed necessary for sustaining the Dalls appointment.

Saturday, 10. We are having warm pleasant weather; it freezes a little at night, but the shining sun by day warms the earth; it is very much like the pleasantest part of April in the state of New York. Here we are considerably north of our friends in New York. They are shivering with the cold, or breaking through snow drifts; or possibly shut in their dwellings; their roads being blocked up with snow; but in this land, an excellent time for ploughing and sowing. The sun shines so bright and warm in our windows, Mrs. Gary has just put down the window curtains. A year ago, our winter was rain, rain, rain. But not so, this. Considerable fair pleasant weather. We are somewhat put to it to keep our feelings along with the winter, so as to make it seem like winter.

This day I receive a letter from J. L. Parrish. More than a month since I wrote to him proposing to employ him for one year in the ministry, to be associated with Bro. Leslie in labors on both sides of the Williamette above this place. On the following conditions: the mission is to pay him his disciplinary quarterage, that is to say, $264. He is to depend on the people with whom he labors for his

[23]Benjamin Stark. The Toulon, Captain Nathaniel Crosby, was in the Columbia frequently after October, 1845, trading with the Islands.

table, moving and traveling expenses; his time is to commence at the time of his arrival here (Williamette Falls) on his way to his work. From my acquaintance with the local preachers in this land, I prefer Bro. Parrish to either of the others for being employed for the time being as a traveling preacher.

Sunday, 11. At the evening service, more than usual in numbers and in apparent attention. Can these seasons be lost? I hope not.

Tuesday, 13. Write to Mr. Roberts,[24] A. F. Waller and D. Leslie.

Wednesday, 14. Received a letter from Dr. McLaughlin concerning Jimmo (a Kanaka) which he says he lent to the mission; this Kanaka has been with Mr. Campbell for years I believe; I had no idea that he was one which the mission borrowed of the Doct. I seriously fear here will be another heavy bill of wages for the mission to pay.

Tuesday, 15. This day I give Mr. Parker an order on Capt. Couch (on the Rogers estate) for twenty five dollars in payment for ten cords of wood delivered at my door.

Sabbath, 18. The appearances in our congregation are encouraging. We have more at meeting; they are quiet and attentive now and the starting tear gives evidence that there is some moral sensibility about the heart of some of these hearers. This evening, death enters the habitation of a near neighbor and removes Maryette Holland, a child nearly two years old. Perish the grass and fade the flower, yet immutibility characterizes the word of the Lord.

Thursday, 22. Bro. Leslie is with us. This day I receive the report of the estimating committee. I enter a copy.

"Meeting of the committee for estimating the family expenses of the itinerant ministers in Oregon, convened at the house of Rev. D. Leslie, Thursday evening, Decem-

[24]Rev. William Roberts.

ber 25, 1845, at seven o'clock p. m. Present A. Beers, W. H. Willson and L. H. Judson. On motion, A. Beers chosen chairman, L. H. Judson, secretary. Proceeded to estimate and after consultation, estimate the amount necessary for an adult to be $150; one child under seven years, $75; one child over seven years, $100. Board of a domestic to each family, $60. Adjourned. A. Beers, chairman, L. H. Judson, secretary."

This estimate I think is too high by one third. But I see no other way but to be governed by it. There ought to be some check at some point, in my opinion. Produce is dear, to be sure; say butter 25c per pound; brown sugar, 12½c; tea, $1.50; coffee, 33 1/3c; flour from 3 to 4c per pound; beef 6c; pork 10c.

Friday, 23. Give an order on Mr. Campbell for $65.10 in favor of Mr. Holman; to stop one of the leaks in the former mission school. Mrs. H. (formerly Miss Phelps) has not been paid up for her services in the mission school until now.

Saturday, 24. Ascertain from Bro. Abernethy books that the estimate for the year from May 1, 1844 to May 1, 1845, for Bro. Leslie's family was $332.97. This was paid to 1 January, 1845. Due to 1 May, 1845, $110.99. The estimate for this year, same family, $535. Difference $202.03, which, to me, is rather unaccountable.

Saturday, 24. Keep the order drawn for Mr. Holman; and sell him a note given by H. Campbell April 1, 1845 for $146.34 with interest at six per cent. Interest nine months, $6.51. Present value, $152.91. Pay Mr. Holman $65.10 and said Holman is to pay D. Leslie $87.81, which is charged to D. Leslie. This note was given by Mr. Campbell to embrace J. W. Garrison's for $120 and $18.20 paid by a Canadian to Mr. Ermitinger and also $8.14 by Mr. Pettigrove.[25] (See Mr. Abernethy's letter.)

Sunday, 25. Quite out of health today but fortunately

[25]F. W. Pettygrove.

Bro. Leslie is here to preach to this people. Very rainy day.

Monday, 26. My health is still poor; death has just entered Mr. Gray's house (near us) and removed their hired girl.

Wednesday, 28. Today I get from Bro. Abernethy's books the estimate of table expenses previous to May 1, 1845, which I believe stood for a few years from year to year; that is, the committee from year to year followed the estimate of the preceding year, except where the numbers in the family made a change.

D. Leslie, $332.97. A. F. Waller, $362.72. H. B. Brewer, $287.07; total, $782.76. This year, same families $1755. This to me is unaccountable and painful. This day I write a letter to Bro. Waller and Brewer. Our weather is pleasant and warm; it is almost or quite difficult to make it seem like January.

[1846] Sunday, February 1. Being out of health, I preach but once today. This warm and wet weather does not agree with my health near so well as the clear and cold weather of the state of New York.

Tuesday, 3. It is very rainy. Bro. Leslie has been here nearly two weeks. Now kept by the rains. It is very difficult to travel much in this region in the rainy season. Today I hear Bro. Raymond has got the Institute claim recorded in his own name. So I suppose the friends of the school will have trouble with him. Alas that he ever was sent to this country. He has been employed to keep the boarding hall in the school; now he takes the advantage by being on the premises and records the section of land in his own name and may lay claim to it as his own. It is not mission business; but it is a reproach to the mission to have had such a man connected with it.

Wednesday, 4. Bro. Leslie leaves for the place of his residence.

Thursday, 5. Weather is fair today.

Friday, 6. My health is much improved; shall hail good fair weather again if permitted to see it.

Sunday, 8. Rainy day. Congregation small.

Friday, 13. Very rainy for some days; it is difficult to keep the kind so as not to have it effected by this dark and gloomy weather. To be sure, I have a fine time for reading; yet I feel very much the need of fine weather to give buoyancy to my spirits. This day receive letters from Bro. Brewer and Waller.

Condition of the station.

Cash and propeerty on hand,		$1822.19
They have paid for labor	$187.33	
Expenses these tripps	124.32½	
	$311.65½	
A. F. Waller claim from Dec. 21, 44 to May 1, 45.		
Table expenses from Dec. 21, 44 to May 1, 45		$131.03
Salary same time		101.11
		$232.14
Salary from May 1, 1845 to May 1, 1846		280.00
Table expenses, same time		710.00
		$1222.14
Received since Dec. 21, 1844		699.69½
	Due	$522.44½
Received from Williamette,		
Fort VanCouver and farm	$308.16	
Also same places	221.18½	
Amount of library	70.35	
Donation goods ($63) Donation to M. S. of M. E. C.	100.00	
	$699.69½	

H. B. Brewer's claim.

From Dec. 21, 44 to May 1, 45	
Salary $101.83; table expenses $103.65	$205.48
Table expenses from May 1, 45 to May 1, 46	510.00
Quarterage same time	282.00
	$997.48
Received since Dec. 21, 1844	
$292.80, $158.78½ donation to M.S.M.E.C. $100 (which pay up to 1 May, 46)	551.58½
now due	$445.89½

Saturday, 14. A most beautiful day. Rev. J. L. Parrish reaches here today; this day begins his year in the employ of the mission as a preacher. It may be asked if it was best to pay him his equivalent for his claim on the board for his return home provided he shall be employed in the ministry connected with the mission. To this I answer, We can now stipulate on the terms of employing him. The mission gives him only his disciplinary quarterage, himself, wife and children. His other expenses, he depends upon the people for; and it's my opinion, Bro. Leslie also ought to give up his claim on the mission for table expenses.

Sunday, 15. Another wintry day which is made up of clouds and rain.

Monday, 16. Somewhat pleasant today.

Tuesday, 17. Pleasant, beautiful day. Mrs. Gary is getting a great supply of baskets from Sister Parrish.

Wednesday, 18. Fair, beautiful weather; busy writing to friends in the states.

Sunday, 22. A favorable day, so far as relates to weather, number and attention in the congregation.

Wednesday, 25. Today I hand to Mr. Redshirt Smith[26] three letters for the states, John Smith, St. Louis, A. W. Smith, Middletown, and James Mudge, Lynn. Mr. Smith is about starting over the mountains for the states.

[26]Hiram Smith; for biography see Vol. I, p. 527, Bancroft's *Oregon*.

Friday, 27. This day come care and trouble. The debt at Mr. Ermitinger's of $1079.90, which the milling company assumed and which has been reduced by said company to $656.79, and which is now demanded from the mission, I have had to pay by drawing on Fort VanCouver for said amount. Mr. Abernethy will try to meet the payment at VanCouver, but his success is somewhat doubtful.

Saturday, 28. I am examining the financial concerns for the year past. In this examination, I find unsettled accounts have come in from the departments supposed to be closed a year ago; nearly as follows: Manual labor school, $514.58; Mr. Burn's [Beers'] farm, over-credited a year ago, including mistake, $433.00; mercantile department $589.51; nearly $220 of which is in a bill in favor of Ladd and company. These departments are in reality so much worse off than they were reported last year.

[1846] Monday, March 2. This day I close my letter to the board to be sent over the mountains; we are about finishing one to M. Adams and also one to H. B. Clark. In the morning of the 5th of March, I delivered these letters to Mr. T'Vault,[27] to be forwarded to the states, in hopes they will reach the places of their destinations sometime in September. The financial condition of the mission as exhibited in the above letter to the board: Estimate of property at the Dalls $1822.19; Institute owes on interest, $4,000; Judson and Wilson, $5860; H. Campbell, $3807.33; J. Robb, $1500; G. Abernethy, $1556.65; all on interest; milling company, $12193.66, not on interest; we owe $1500, leaving a balance $27-417.63; Two notes for specie due the mission $719.39.

Saturday, 7. This day I receive the account from Fort VanCouver up to February 21, 1846. At that time they owed the mission $287.65½, but on the 27th of

[27]W. G. T'Vault, first editor of the *Oregon Spectator,* appointed Postmaster-General in 1845 by the Provisional Government.

February, I drew on them for the Ermintinger debt for $656.79. The mission owes at this time $369.13½.

Sunday, 8. Our Sabbaths are somewhat pleasant with perhaps 40 hearers.

Monday, 9. This day I closed the arrangement with L. H. Judson in reference to an equivalent for his claims on the board to be returned to his former place of residence in the states. I give him the interest on the mill of $6000 for 18 months, up to December 27, 1845, and also on principal $268.72.

Thursday, 12. Appearances of spring are so promising we have commenced gardening. Planted some potatoes today. This evening, quite a congregation in the Methodist meeting house at a temperance meeting. 100 persons present. Almost everything depends on keeping alcohol out of this territory. But I fear the result is doubtful and alas for this people if alcohol has free circulation among them. Many have come here to get away from alcohol; others have persuaded their friends to come to get them away from this temptation, &c &c.

Now let ardent spirits have a free circulation here and quite a proportion of this population will be found at the altar of Bacchus. And the natives—language cannot paint the horrors and evils which will sweep them away on the free circulation of spirits in this land.

Saturday, 14. Bro. Waller from the Dalls arrives among us. He is one of the executors of the last will and testament of the late Rev. Jason Lee. He has come down to see to the affairs of said estate.

Sunday, 15. Bro. Waller preaches with us. A very good sermon.

Thursday, 19. This day Bro. Waller leaves us for the neighborhood of the Institute. He is attending to the estate of the late Rev. J. Lee. W. W. Raymond visits us this day. Spends the most of the forenoon feeling about to see if I will introduce the subject of his jumping the Institute claim. As yet so far I let him alone.

Sunday, 22. Today Mr. Fisher,[28] a Baptist missionary, preached for us; rather a profitable sermon. Hope he will do good in this land of darkness and wickedness.

Monday, 23. We are having cool nights; little white frosts, but beautiful sunny days. There are charms in this climate, but the dreary, rainy winters make a great offset against the early, blooming, beautiful spring. The want of society enlightened and cultivated is the great desideratum to render residence here desirable and pleasurable. Duty may lead a man here and keep him here; the ambitious may come here and remain here that they may be great in the community of which they are members; the avaricious may come and remain that they may become rich; the guilty and wandering may come to get rid of their shame and perhaps their name; but aside from these and a few other considerations, I would advise friends to remain in the land of their nativity and of their high, rare privileges; provided they were born in the state of New York, and provided also they enjoyed the privileges of the people of that happy state. A half barrel directed to Mrs. Perkins opened by Bro. Waller; on examining it, we conclude to use the things in this country and pay Mrs. P. its value in specie, estimated at $26. The mission assumes the liability of paying this amount, and we charge the things as disposed of so as to cover the amount. This cask came by the Toulon.

Friday, 27. Have quite a temperance meeting in the meeting house. It is somewhat doubtful how the great question will turn, whether alcohol will have a place in this territory or not. Very much depends on the manner in which this point is disposed of.

Monday, 30. Today we have some sympathy for Bro. Parrish. He has difficulty with a Mr. Gray[29] about a house and lot in this city which he bought of Mr. Gray

[28]Rev. Ezra Fisher.
[29]W. H. Gray.

some time ago. But Mr. G. now refuses to give up the house. I suppose a law suit will follow.

Tuesday, 31. Somewhat cool; we have had but little very warm weather this month; not a great deal of rain. Garden mostly planted.

[1846] Saturday, April 4. This day we commence our quarterly meetings. In our quarterly conference, we have present eleven members. Appearances are somewhat favorable in their manner of doing business. I have felt some considerable freedom in giving them my views of Methodism. I believe it was favorably received.

Sunday, 5. A favorable day. Preaching by the superintedent and Bros. Leslie and Waller.

Monday, 6. This day I drew on the milling company in favor of Rev. D. Leslie for $219.88, which pays him to May 1, 1846. This day I receive from Wilson and Judson, $100; also H. Campbell $100, for J. L. Parrish's quarterage (this country currency). As Bro. Parrish is to spend his time, at present at least, at the Falls, where he will get less for table expenses and where it costs more to live, I shall voluntarily give him something extra more than was stipulated at first. Drew on the milling company for J. L. Parrish $100. Paid Bro. Parrish these $300.

Wednesday, 8. Busy preparing to go to the Dalls with Bro. Waller. Bought sundry things at Capt. Couch's to use as expenses on the route; bill at the captain's $23.67. Drew on milling company by Mr. Waller for $400 by errors against mission in A. F. W., $58, total $458.

Thursday, 9. Received the report of the estimating committee for the year commencing May 1, 1846, ending May 1, 1847. D. Leslie's estimate for table expenses, $509.48; A. F. Waller's estimate for table expenses, $557.79; H. B. Brewer, estimate for table expenses, $429.67; total $1496.94. About sunset, we start with Bro. Waller in a canoe for the Dalls. About midnight stop at Linnton; sleep in the canoe.

Friday, 10. We are under way early; stop about three

hours at Fort VanCouver where Bro. Waller gets the things that are necessary to pay off our Indians who served as our crew during our river voyage. This night we sleep in our canoe on the north side of the river near what is called Simon's place.[30]

Saturday, 11. Early under way again. About two o'clock p. m. we reach the lower part of the portage at the cascades. Mrs. Gary and myself walk about three miles and three-quarters to a stopping place; wait until dark for Bro. Waller, the crew &c. Strong fears began to annoy us that the canoe must be lost and that we should have to spend the night in an uncomfortable manner without tent, fire, food, or even our mantles, but in a little while all arrive in safety; no telling what a relief this arrival affords us Here we spend the Sabbath, a day of rest to us, indeed.

Monday, 13. Finish our portage and pass on perhaps 20 miles.

Tuesday, 14. About three o'clock p. m. reach the Dalls all well. A very quick passage, less than four laboring days from the Williamette Falls to the Dalls.

Wednesday, 15. Busy in arranging the expenses of the trip &c. Expense to mission trip April 1846, $29.13; G. Gary, out of it, $5.00; A. F. W. paid from Van. bill $10.19; H. B. Brewer, $5.48; G. Gary, $4.91. On hand $8.43, donation by Toulon; paid A. F. Waller, $5.32; H. B. Brewer, $3.11; Bro. Waller charged for time in proportion to the year for 20 days in the settlement of J. Lee's estate, $54.24; portion of the expense after deducting $4.30, paid by A. F. W., balance to be credit to the mission, $10.26; total $64.50.

Saturday, 18. We are very much refreshed by the quietude of this place; no whites here but Bros. Waller and Brewer and their families, and indeed but few In-

[30]Perhaps Simmons' place. Col. Michael T. Simmons and others spent the winter near the mouth of the Washougal on the Columbia, 1844-1845, before proceeding to Puget Sound, where they settled.

dians here. The most of them are absent in pursuit of roots to sustain themselves until the salmon fishing shall come on; which is about the first of June.

Sunday 19. About 30 natives at meeting. Bro. Waller preaches. I talk a little by way of two interpreters, one putting it into jargon, the second into Chinook. I say to them, We are all children of the great Father. He sees all we do, though we cannot see him any more than we can see the wind, yet He sees all we do and all we design and wish to do, and when we die we shall appear before Him and if we have done good and designed and wished to do good, He will give us a good place; if we have done bad and designed to do bad, He will drive us away to a bad place; if we are satisfied we have done bad (as all are bad) we are now to be sorry for it and pray Him to have mercy upon us and forgive us for his goodness sake. We ought to confess and pray today not next moon or after another sleep, but now &c &c.

Monday, 20. The weather is becoming a little warmer. For some time we have had cold weather without rain and the Columbia river is very low. This river for its rise is much more dependent on warm weather in the fore part of the season than upon the clouds; the warm sun of May and June dissolves vast quantities of snow in the mountains and this is poured down into the Columbia in liquid form which raises it from thirty to fifty feet above its present height. There is probably about as much water passing in this river as ordinarily passes the Niagara river; in high water twice as much.

Thursday, 23. Our weather is rather cool, but we are passing days rather pleasantly. Busy reading and writing. This day I finish a letter to the Board.

Sunday, 26. Bro. Waller goes up the river about ten miles to labor among the Indians there. Bro. Brewer and myself have meeting among those here, about 18 present.

In the afternoon, I preach to five adult whites, a few

children. This a day of small things; it does appear doubtful about my ministry in this land.

Tuesday, 28. This day I seal the letters for the states; in hopes of an opportunity to send them to the states. One Cor. secy. of the Mis. S. M. E. C.[31] of one sheet; 1 Moses Adams one sheet and one Wm. Armitage, one sheet.

Wednesday, 29. We ride up to the Dalls about five miles. The Indians are collecting here for the salmon fising.

Thursday, 30. We are having a strong cool west wind. Send by Mr. Bonney letters to J. L. P.,[32] D. Leslie, J. Force, and G. Abernethy. I am reading Watson's Institutes these days. A condensed and profound body of divinity. This Bonny is supposed to be a dreadful man.

[1846] Friday, May 1. This day we give to the returning emigrants the letters above mentioned for the states, entrusted with Mr. Hockerman.[?] We hope our friends will receive them by about first of September.[33]

Saturday, 2. These families in my opinion live easy and in my opinion—but I will forbear.

It is very difficult to form an opinion perfectly satisfactory to my mind what had better be done about continuing this appointment; at any rate, I think the secular department should be on as small a scale as is in any way practicable.

Sunday, 3. Bonny returned from his effort to go to Williamette. Quite out of health today, yet I preach to four adult persons; small congregation and rather small preaching.

Tuesday, 5. We are annoyed with the company of a Mr. Bonny, a real hanger-on; strong reason to fear he is a murderer; it is supposed he murdered a man on his way to this territory in 1845; he never has ventured to show himself in the Williamette portion of this country;

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[31]Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

[32]J. L. Parrish.

[33]Apparently neithey Bonney, nor Hockerman, settled in Oregon. The name Galligher, or Gallagher, mentioned below is not identified.

now talks of returning to the states; has in company with him a Spaniard; I wish they were far away from this mission. It is not easy to calculate the depravity of many of the emigrants to this country. I give Mr. Bonney rather of a plain talk about the emigrants hanging about this mission and tell him our business as a mission is with the natives and we do not want any traffic with the whites; he leaves with his Spaniard; but I fear he will be back again.

Mr. Galligher[?] is also here after cattle which were left by the emigrants last year; he is afraid to leave with his herds lest Bonny and his Spaniard should pursue him and rob him; but as Bonny is now gone, possibly Mr. G. may conclude to go soon. Sister Brewer is quite out of health. At night Mr. Burn appears.[34]

Thursday, 7. Mr. Gallagher leaves with 71 head of cattle belonging to sundry emigrants; leaves a yoke of oxen to the mission for the expense of taking care of these cattle; oxen estimated at $40.

Friday, 8. We count our cattle today and number 69; there should be as by accounts rendered, 84. 15 probably eaten or driven away by emigrants perhaps; possibly a few by the Indians. This deducts from the income of the farm say $225, or perhaps more properly increases the indebtedness of the station this much. I receive Indian curiosity sacks and moccasins $7.67.

Sabbath, 10. Speak to about 15 Indians in the morning. In the afternoon, endeavor to preach to four whites and a few uneasy children; congregation, sermon and all in evidence that this is a day of small things.

Monday, 11. A beautiful fine morning; while nature is smiling in her lovliness, lo, Mr. Bonny appears in sight; the more we hear and see of this man, the more we are

[34] *The Oregon Spectator* of February 19, 1846, contains a notice to the effect that H. Burns has been contracted with by the Post-Master General to carry mail from Oregon City to Weston, Missouri. The charge was to be fifty cents for single sheets, and it appears from an editorial that Burns was to get one-half of this postage.

convinced that wherever he appears, depravity in some of its aggravated forms may be feared.

Tuesday, 12. We are having pleasant, warm weather. Ther. in the shade, 76. These families are annoyed with Mr. Bonny.

Wednesday, 13. Most beautiful weather. Thermometer in shade 80. Poor Bonny has just started for the states. Doubtful! Doubtful!

Friday, 15. One of Mr. Gallagher's Indians has returned with 32 head of horn cattle; also four calves. Mr. Brewer refuses to take charge of them, and the Indian drives them away and continues to keep them in his own care.

Saturday, 16. We are making calculation and preparation to visit Dr. Whitman and his mission soon.

Monday, 18. This day we arrange with an Indian for horses, i. e., for four horses for our trip to Dr. Whitman's and Mr. Spaulding's.

Tuesday, 19. It is rainy. We are about to start on our journey, but may wait for the rain to cease. Half past two p. m. Rain having ceased, we mount our horses; Bro. Brewer and wife with their two children; Mrs. Gary and myself accompanied by two young Indians, so our company in all made eight; with eight horses, two being used for pack horses. We go perhaps about eight or ten miles and stop for the night; secure our horses as well as we can; put up our tents; eat supper and retire to rest; but I feel so much care on my mind about the horses and many other things connected with our present enterprise, sleep keeps away from me the most of the night. Among the topics that agitate my mind too much for sleep to come are, one of our horses has a very sore back which presented itself in a horrid manner when the pack saddle was removed from him. I wish the horse was back again, or we all were back again; another, I fear Bro. Brewer has not the ready and active care which will make our condition easy and pleasant.

Wednesday, 20. We start early and by noon are over the Dechutes River. This river we cross in a canoe and swim the horses. It is evident there is no peculiar tact at ———— in our leader. We are now beyond the knowledge of any of our company; only about fifteen miles from our starting place; discouragements are rapidly increasing. I wish we were back again. We are now told by an Indian that the John Day River on the wagon route is impassable, and that there is no canoe there to help us over, and that if we go on, we must take the old pack trail. We leave the Dechutes River between twelve and one; and after passing about three miles, we come to where the wagon and pack trails divide. Bro. Brewer leads on the way by pursuing the pack trail; in about one mile the path leads along on the side of a steep and somewhat high mountain in a fearful manner, Sister Brewer's courage fails; Bro. Brewer and the Indian boys go along for some time on the sideling road, carrying the children. Mrs. B. pauses or halts, Mrs. Gary and myself also stop; in a little while, Bro. B. returns and endeavors to persuade us to go on; Mrs. B. perhaps would have yielded, but Mrs. Gary and myself conclude with some firmness not to go any further on the old trail; so after some consultation, we agree to return to the wagon route and take it, and go as far as John Day river, and if we find it impossible then to turn about and return to the Dalls. We act according to this arrangement and ride for perhaps seven or eight miles without seeing a tree or a drop of water; no prospect of fuel and knowing nothing how far to water; we send Bro. B. ahead to see if he can find water; while he is gone, cold, weary, hungry and dirty, we halt and conclude to spend the night without fire and without water. Here Mrs. G. and myself make up our minds to return to the Dalls as soon as practicable.

After a while Bro. B. returns and reports he finds water at John Day's river, and thinks it five or six miles to it; we report to him our conclusion to start early in

the morning on our return and get to the Columbia river soon as possible for breakfast where there is water enough and to spare. Our evening is by no means comfortable; with a cold fierce wind blowing upon us, covered with dust and no very small proportion of it in our eyes and throats; without fire and without water—but we pass the night as well as we can.

Thursday, 21. Early we are on the way in our back track; and at about nine o'clock, we reach the Columbia River, where the old trail and wagon road intersect each other; here our thirsty horses drink and their thirsty and dusty riders drink and wash, having neither drank nor washed for more than twenty four hours. Now we realize some of the luxuries of water. After taking our breakfast and dinner both in one meal, I start on foot for the Dechutes river, leaving the company to pick up and pack up and follow on. While walking this distance, which is about three miles, I came across a rattle snake, a large one, and as I could not find any stick or stones until I had passed from him a few rods, while I was thus preparing for the attack, he hid away in the grass, so the venomous serpent and myself passed each other without molestation. I arrived at the Dechutes river about ¾ of an hour before the company came up; saw an Indian on the opposite side of the river. I hallooed for a canoe; he had to go two miles perhaps for it, and in due season came with one and helped us over the river. We again packed and started on our way, and rode say four miles and put up for the night, in a very pleasant place with a fine brook running near us.

Friday, 22. Being weary, we take it leasurely and after finishing up our morning affairs we start for home (that is, the mission premises at the Dalls). We arrive about one o'clock p. m., not having been gone quite three times twenty four hours—a fatiguing and trying trip—like great cry and little wool—I suppose we have been about 25 miles in the route to Dr. Whitman's, but

full far enough to suit us considering all things. Bro. Brewer, I judge, is an amiable man; very forbearing and accommodating in his disposition and habits; perhaps few could be found who would get along so pleasantly with the Indians as he does; but he never will be distinguished for forethought and energy. In this trip, he selected no Indian guide who knew the way, or who knew where water might be found. And there is no push ahead to his character; with his easy tardy habits and with his wife and children upon his hands, we could not travel more than half as far in a day as we ought to.

Sunday, 24. Bros. Waller and Brewer go a few miles and have meetings with the Indians; leaving myself and the three women here; our company is so small, we have no meeting until evening.

Monday, 25. The weather cloudy and cool.

Friday, 29. Warm, pleasant weather. I am busy reading Watson's Institutes. I am comparatively doing nothing; at least it appears to me so; I am, however, somewhat relieved from the uneasiness I should otherwise suffer, from the supply of good books.

Sunday, 31. Bro. Waller goes to an appointment up the river four miles. Bro. Brewer has meeting with the Indians in this place; at one o'clock p. m., I try to preach to four hearers; two of them I think are considerably refreshed by sleep. This is the day of small things. The lovely Sabbaths of our native land—shall we ever enjoy them again?

[1846] Monday, June 1. The cattle which Mr. Gallagher sent back by an Indian, returned again last evening. This mission is annoyed almost unto vexation by the emigrants' cattle—I am in doubt about the propriety of continuing this appointment. Thermometer hanging on a partition in our chamber, 92—warm weather.

Thursday, 4. We this day receive a letter from G. Abernethy, but little news; no arrivals as yet from the Sandwich Islands

Sunday, 7. Today I go up the river about four miles with Bro. Waller; here he preaches to about fifty hearers. Just as our meeting is out, we see a large company of Indians carrying one of the boats belonging to the Hudson Bay Company (for here is a portage); we are soon informed that quite a number of boats belonging to the company, say nine, are here making their way down from their different trading posts in the interior to Fort Van-Couver. They come down every June loaded with furs; and return in July loaded with merchandise; they have no Sabbaths on their routes; at this portage they employ scores of Indians to aid them. The general influence of the whites among these natives is anything but good. I pity them from my heart, but know not what to do for their benefit.

Monday, 8. This morning the Hudson Bay Company boats (called the Brigade) passed by early. Send a line to Mr. Douglass.[35]

Tuesday, 9. This day Ellis, a chief of the Nez Percés, is here with fourteen attendants and one hundred and fifty horses. He is going to the Williamette to sell his horses for cows. In the evening, we have meeting with him and his company. He interprets. He understands and talks English very well. We buy of Ellis three bear skins; one of them a beautiful grey bear skin.

Wednesday, 10. Ellis and his company horses and &c leave, except one Indian, sick, and a boy to attend him. In the afternoon I go into the potato field; here is little more than an acre planted with potatoes, and they have not been hoed yet; the weeds are higher than the potatoes; they have been trying to plow among the potatoes, but as the weeds are so thick and high, the potatoes cannot be seen, and they are as likely to be plowed up as the weeds; we conclude the only way, or at least the better

[35]James Douglas. At this time Dr. McLaughlin had just retired and Douglas was now in sole charge at Vancouver. He had been McLaughlin's colleague, during the previous year.

way is to pull up the weeds. I take hold and pull about two hours with Bros. Brewer and Waller. This field of potatoes looks like the field of the slothful. The farming department here is wanting in energy.

Thursday, 11. About a dozen natives male and female are pulling weeds with Bro. Brewer in the potatoe field.

Friday, 12. The company are still at it; exterminating the weeds from among the potatoes. It is my opinion there are but few places in the states where living is cheaper than in this place (Wascopam), clothing excepted. The Indians are here this morning to sell salmon and are anxious to sell good salmon that will weigh probably thirty pounds, for small articles like fish hooks or something of the kind so that a good salmon will not at any rate cost the purchaser six cents—and yet they are slow in buying.

Sunday, 14. Our Sabbaths are lonely in some respects. Bros. Waller and Brewer are away among the Indians, holding meetings. I am left here with these women and more than half a dozen children (not the best governed); when I attempt to preach to this small company, it takes two-thirds of my hearers to keep the children any way tolerable; under these circumstances, I conclude to have no meeting until evening. Evening has come and no one has said anything about my preaching. Sister Waller is in her part of the house, so now there are five of us at meeting. I open the meeting by giving out a hymn and praying, with the purpose to preach provided they rise from their knees after the first prayer, but I shall take it for granted it is to be a prayer meeting if they remain on their knees until someone begins to pray, and so it is.

Tuesday, 16. A fine moderate rain this morning, unusual in this season of the year. The Indian Ellis left sick is very sick; he is in the school house. Bros. Waller and Brewer start this day to visit a petrified stump east of DeChutes river.

Wednesday, 17. The body of the poor sick Indian left by Ellis lies cold in death, in the school house; his earthly sufferings ceased in the latter part of the last night.

Thursday, 18. About two o'clock this morning, Bros. Waller and Brewer reach home from their petrified stump expedition; their arrival is a great relief; as they will now take the charge of burying the body of the deceased Indian. At one o'clock p. m., the body of the Indian is committed to the dust.

Friday, 19. It is cool for this season in the year. Thermometer 64.

Sunday, 21. We have meeting. I try to preach; six hearers.

Monday, 22. This day we move over to the other house, say five rods off; here we are more out of the noise of half governed children; and also if the victuals is not cleaner, it will not be fingered so much by children, who are never very cleanly.

Tuesday, 23. We are very quiet in our new home.

Wednesday, 24. Busy reading the life of Bounaparte. As the reader sees his increasing greatness, the darling picture is drowned in seas of blood; and the valleys are covered with the slain, the valley of death.

Thursday, 25. Still reading the life of Bounaparte. His sun is rapidly declining. In him may be seen the end of ambition.

Friday, 26. Mr. Spaulding,[36] A presbyterian missionary from the Nez Percés, arrives. He gives an unpromising or discouraging account of the prospects of his mission. By no means as favorable as in my post. The causes, he thinks are, the influence of Romanism and the influence of the depraved whites who are annually floating into this territory over the Rocky mountains.

Saturday, 27. I draw on Mr. Abernethy in favor of

[36]Rev. H. H. Spalding.

Mr. Spaulding (this country currency) for $15.34, which the Dalls station owed said Mr. Spaulding.

Sunday, 28. Mr. Spaulding preached to us against Romanism. We all attended; he had with him two white men, so he had eight hearers; quite a congregation.

Monday, 29. Mr. Spaulding is still with us. It is my opinion from his communications that the Indians in his mission are in a more unpromising condition than these about us. Romanism is dividing those most painfully; it has as yet nothing to do with these; but I presume fifty blankets from the Roman Catholics among these would induce three-fourths of them to tell us they wished us to go away. It is my opinion unless some government manages here beside the Oregon government within a very few years (say five) all the Protestant missions will have to be given up which are now established among the Indians. If the government of the U. S. is extended here, or perhaps the British Colonial government, the Romanists will be less assuming; but without some such check, they will in their way convert the natives of this land by show, pictures, and favoriteism in a few years; at present all the influence (which is great) of the Hudson Bay Company is in favor of Romanism as far as the natives are concerned, because they are able in this way to keep them in such a train as in case of a rupture between the governments of Great Briton and the United States of America, they, the natives, may be used with all their savage barbarity in the British cause.

Tuesday, 30. Mr. Spaulding leaves us this morning at about half past eight (Send letters to D. Leslie and J. L. Parrish). The corn is mostly tasseled, and some of these are in bloom; silk as it is called may be seen every now and then, where the ears are forming.

[1846] Wednesday, July 1. Today, the Walla Walla chief[37] calls on us; he has started for California where his son (Elijah Hedding) was killed nearly two years

[37]Chief Peu Peu Mox Mox.

ago. Elijah had attended our manual labor school; but left a few years ago and with his father and others went to California where he lost his life. I suppose he was a wicked young chief; I think his father is desirous of revenge; more blood probably will be shed.

Saturday, 4. This is a memorable day in our beloved country. Somewhat of an important day to us. Received a letter from Rev. J. L. Parrish; no American vessel in the river as yet this season; News by the Hudson Bay Company's vessel from England presents the political elements between the two nations as somewhat uneasy. We will hope for the best.

For dinner today, pretty good sized new beats; for tea, a new cucumber. In our letter from Bro. Parrish, we learn of the death of Doct. J. E. Long[38]; he was drowned in attempting to cross the Klackamas river. The company's Brigade arrive today on their way up the country.

Monday, 6. Mrs. Gary makes a cheese today; We hope we may be able to eat it at sea in a few months.

Tuesday, 7. Mr. Brewer begins his wheat harvest today.

Wednesday, 8. I suppose the Black river conference begins its session today; I form this opinion from the printed plan of Episcopal Visitation published in a number of the Advocate for June, 1844. But I am unable even to guess where is the place of its session. These days are (with me) not like the active and important days of a session of the annual conference. Here I am a hundred miles from anybody I can talk with except the members of the mission families and thousands of miles from so many and such dear friends. I have a fine opportunity for reading—But—But—But—I seem to be doing but little, very little indeed; perhaps my presence here prevents some expenses which would otherwise be made.

Sabbath, 12. This day I go with Bro. Waller and at-

[38]Dr. J. E. Long was Secretary under the Provisional Government.

tend meeting among the Indians at the Dalls. About fifty hearers.

Monday, 13. We receive news from the Falls by way of Ellis (Nez Percés chief) two American vessels in the river. By him we also receive the letter from Dr. Pitman, of June 29, '44; some Sandwich Island letters; we are in strong hopes of letters from the states; we are apprised there is a box of papers; we think of returning to the Williamette soon; today we eat green corn, string beans and summer squash.

Tuesday, 14. Today I settle with Bros. Waller and Brewer and pay them in full their salary, table expenses &c &c to the first of May, 1846. I draw on the Milling Co. for $674.95 in favor of H. B. Brewer and one draft favor of the farm or station.

Wednesday, 15. We have made every preparation to go to the Williamette, when to our utter astonishment, we cannot raise a crew without giving a most extravagent price; we therefore hold over for the present.

Thursday, 16. Spend quite a proportion of the day in the harvest field. I suppose one great reason we could not obtain a crew reasonably was this wheat is very handy; there perhaps are twenty natives, yea possibly thirty, who are living on this wheat field. A few are at work for the mission; the greater proportion are stealing; some, however, under the mask of gleaning.

Friday, 17. Looking on various operations in the harvest field.

Sunday, 19. Preached to four hearers.

Monday, 20. Yesterday we received letters from the states, dated September and October, 1845; relatives alive and well; how thankful we ought to be. The Board request us to remain still longer in this land. We submit. Our letters are from children, A. Adams, Cor. Secy., G. Peck, G. Lane, Z. Paddock, G. Baker and sundry others. Great feast. We were so glad, sleep nearly refused to interrupt us by approaching us during the shades of the

night. We are apprised that the vessels now in the river will soon leave—we shall now be busy writing to friends in the states; soon as practicable, return to Oregon City.

Tuesday, 21. We are busy in preparing to go down the river. A little after nine o'clock p. m., we go to the river, and at about midnight, our canoe is loaded, and we start for the Williamette. This traveling in the night is not quite so pleasant after all; yet we will make the best of it. We run down the river about an hour and the wind being high, we conclude to put up the remainder of the night.

Thursday, 23. At evening, we reach the Cascades.

Friday, 24. Another laborious day at the portage at the Cascades. But accomplish this portage in sufficient time to make quite a run down the river, with a high brisk wind against us, and consequently waves that make canoe jump about in somewhat of a fearful manner.

Saturday, 25. At evening, we find ourselves about eight miles below the Falls on the Williamette; here we rest and spend the holy Sabbath.

Monday, 27. At about ten o'clock A. M., we arrive at the Falls and soon find ourselves in the parsonage again. Here are barrels and boxes of donation goods and also some purchased goods which the Board have sent to this mission. Bro. Waller came down with us, and will take back such things as may be needed at the Dalls station.

Thursday, 30. For a few days I have been very busy in opening the goods which have arrived and putting up what may be needed at the Dalls; at about three o'clock p. m., he starts for the Dalls. The goods sent by the Board are in good season and will be a very great help to the persons connected with the mission. They have arrived in good order, except some of the donation goods are moth eaten.

Friday, 31. Today I am reading the Advocates some. This day I receive another letter from the secy. dated Jan. 30, 1846. Yesterday I paid Bro. Waller as quarterage

out of the purchased and donation goods sent by the board, $84.36 (see bill). Also paid as salary to H. B. Brewer from the purchased goods, $13.83. From Capt. Couch as table expenses, $9; from donation goods same purpose, $9.13; total $18.37. Paid Bro. Parrish for a young swine for myself, $4.28.

[1846] Sunday, August 2. It seems quite good to be in a white congregation again between thirty and forty hearers. It is now settled, I suppose, that I shall be the preacher to this people the most of the time for the year to come. I hope to discharge these sacred and solemn duties faithfully.

Tuesday, 4. Commence writing to friends in the states. Shall be employed in this work for a few days.

Sunday, 9. Our Sabbath about as usual; say from thirty to forty hearers. The preacher purposes to do his duty whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.

Wednesday, 12. This day we have a council. Bro. Leslie & Helm[39] present. It appears from their remarks that it is very apparent that the present influence of the mission above us, or up the Williamette, is much better among the whites than it ever has been. I make an arrangement to employ Bro. Helm; am to give his disciplinary salary or quarterage; he is to depend upon the people for his table expenses; his salary, self, wife and children, $304 to be at W. & Judson Mills $100—H. Campbell $100, on G. Abernethy 104. I paid him $21.51—on store part. I form a very good opinion of Bro. Helm; he is a located preacher.

Sunday, 16. Our meeting today is better than usual, one man staid in class, who stated for the first time that he had made up his mind to lead a Christian life. I hope some good will be done in this place by the ministry of the word.

Monday, 17. This day I hand over my letters to Mr. Stark to be forwarded in the Toulon, for the following

[39]William Helm.

persons: George Gary, Jr., G. Lane, G. Peck, Mrs. G. Lane, M. Adams, C. Pitman, and S. Dendo. For S. C. Damon, E. O. Hall and S. N. Castle at Honolulu.

Paid Mr. Stark in specie for freight by Toulon $40.

Wednesday, 19. The jail built about a year ago by the territory is now in smoking ruins; some incendiary has had the pleasure of seeing it in flames last night.[40] I am informed some of our rather important citizens refused to testify before the grand jury yesterday against persons who had violated the law in gambling, saying they could not testify without incriminating themselves. The state of society is far from being desirable.

Friday, 21. One year today since Bro. Hines and family left us in this distant land. We have passed the year somewhat pleasantly — though rather solitarily. Peace, retirement and quietude attend us. Plenty of good reading. The youngest newspaper we have from the states is nearly seven months old.

Monday, 24. Write to Bro. Waller and Brewer. Send also the Advocate by Mr. Barlow.[41]

Wednesday, 26. A few of this year's emigrants arrive today. They bring the report that there is war between Mexico and the United States.

Friday, 28. This day we receive a letter from Rev. A. Adams, dated March 10, 1846, brought over the mountains by Lieu. Woodward[42] of U. S. Navy, who has been sent by the government at home with dispatches for the commodore of the navy in the Pacific ocean. I suppose

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[40]The jail had been built in 1845 by using funds derived from the Ewing Young Estate, but against the petition and protest of thirty-eight citizens, who objected to the use of the money.

[41]Probably Samuel K. Barlow. The *Oregon Spectator* of July 9, 1846, contained a statement that Captain Barlow had completed the construction of his wagon road between the Dalls and Oregon City and that the wagons that were left in the mountains the preceding fall would reach Oregon City in the course of two days.

[42]Lieut. S. E. Woodworth.

now the American armed vessel "Shark"[43] will leave this river soon as possible, and take these dispatches to the proper officer.

[1846] Thursday, September 3. I am having great leasure; in a certain sense; yet somewhat busy in finding out what has been going on in the United States and especially in the M. E. C. for a year past, or say from February 7, 1845 to February 7, 1846. Date of our latest papers.

Sunday, 6. Appearances in the congregation about as usual.

Sunday, 13. The emigrants with wagons over the mountains; a few of them reach the suburbs of this city this day.

Monday, 14. More emigrants with wagons arrive. They left Missouri in May and are now here. From the best information I can gather, they have had a very successful journey and are coming in, not only in very good season, but also with some supplies of provisions still on hand.

This evening we learn that the American armed vessel called the "Shark" is wrecked on the bar in passing out of the Columbia river. A perilous place for vessels, especially unless piloted by persons acquainted with the channel.

Thursday, 17. Mr. Abernethy paid to the credit of the mission at Fort VanCouver $302.60 in part pay of the draft he borrowed Feb. 27.

Saturday, 19. Bro. Parrish moves today to the vicinity of the Institute.

Have just had a pleasant visit with Bro. Helm.

Sunday, 20. There is a great sameness in our congregation from Sabbath to Sabbath. The most of the hearers are steady attendants on divine worship. But few of the

[43]The *Shark* was under command of Lieut. Neil M. Howison. It was wrecked in attempting to leave the Columbia River, September 10, 1846. The Commodore of the fleet was Robert F. Stockton.

emigrants stop in this place; they pass on, into the Williamette valley; there they will find the heralds of mercy.

Wednesday, 23. The emigrants occasionally pass along. Report says about half of them have gone on a new route, so as to come into the upper part of the Williamette valley; a very great relief to our mission at the Dalls.

Saturday, 26. Old Mr. Smith is with us, and is designing to take me to Yam Hill Camp Meeting to commence next Wednesday. We are to start next Monday.[44]

Monday, 28. Left the island at Williamette Falls at about ten o'clock a. m. Started for camp meeting; we pass up the river about 25 miles and the shades of night begin to settle upon us, as we reach the Bute[45]; here I find very comfortable entertainment for the night at Mr. Hall's, who keeps a sort of public house.

Tuesday, 29. Early under way and after striking a number of bars by the keel of our boat, we pass into Yam Hill River and at about four p. m., we arrive at Mr. Smith's landing; walk a mile and a half to Mr. Smith's; am kindly received and treated with all that attention that gives assurance of a hearty and cordial welcome.

Wednesday, 30. This evening, the services of our camp meeting begin. The supt. preached.

[1846] Thursday, October 1. Prayer meeting at six a. m. Enock Garrison preaches at half past eight a. m. small sprinkling of occasionally fifteen persons stayed on the ground last night. Though our number is small, the spirit prevailing is good. ½ 10 a. m., Bro. Helm preaches us a good sermon. At 2 p. m., J. W. Garrison attempts to preach; the performance is as much to be admired for its sound as anything. Candle light, Bro. Leslie preaches us a very good sermon; very good state of feeling; two are forward for prayers.

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[44]Probably Andrew D. Smith, an emigrant of 1842, mentioned in the *Spectator* of August 20, 1846, in a communication signed by David Leslie.

[45]At present Butteville. James E. Hall came in 1845, and died at Butteville, June 2, 1870.

Friday, 2. ½ past 8, J. L. Parrish preaches a passable sermon; about thirty hearers. Last night a little after midnight, Mrs. Fletcher[46] gave birth to a fine boy in a tent on the ground; I suppose there was not time enough for her to be taken to her house about a mile and a half off; so the camp ground became the place of this child's nativity. Well that Doct. Wilson[47] was on the ground. ½ 10 a. m. the supt. preached. The spirit of the meeting is very good. 2 p. m., W. H. Wilson preached a good sermon for him. Evening, Bro. Helm gave an excellent sermon.

Saturday, 3. ½ 8 D. Leslie gave us a good sermon, with very good effect. A gracious spirit prevails. ½ 10 J. L. Parrish contributed to the interest of the meeting in giving a tolerably good sermon. 2 p. m. Supt. preached. The official members met and we had, I trust, a profitable quarterly conference. Even J. L. Judson[48] preached a good sermon. This man is quite a preacher; but—Bro. Leslie followed with an exhortation in good season and of good effect. Perhaps a dozen forward for prayers. Five experienced religion, I believe.

Sabbath, 4. In the morning, a speaking meeting love feast like—an excellent spirit prevailing. 10 a. m. Supt. preached and administered the holy communion. About fifty communicants. In the congregation about 180 persons, one third of them females. Perhaps this is about the proportion of males and females in this community. My opinion is, if there were a larger proportion of females in this population (I mean white females,) it would be better for this community. The appearance of the ladies is respectable, and I have no doubt but their respectable appearance has a happy effect, upon the rougher part of this population. Surely it is good that woman has a place in this society. 3 p. m., Bro. Helm gave us a

[46]Wife of Francis Fletcher, who came with the Peoria party, 1840.
[47]Dr. W. H. Willson, a member of the Mission party of 1837.
[48]L. H. Judson.

good sermon in which we saw the traits of a good man, as presented in first Psalm. Evening. Bro. Leslie suited his sermon to the occasion with good judgment, and with excellent effect.

Monday, 5. The people gathered before the stand and a few short addresses were made, and such as wished to join society were admitted. There were from 15 to 20 who professed religion at this meeting, and nearly 20 joined on trial. The meeting was then dismissed and we parted in all probability to meet not again in time. After meeting, I returned to Father Smith's and after a few disappointments, finally started for the Williamette Falls or Oregon city on the morning of

Thursday, 8. This day we ran on a sand bar in different places and at different times so that our progress was slow. We put up for the night under some bushes on one of the banks of the Williamette.

Friday, 9. We were in some danger by running over a ledge of rocks, but after some careful effort, we finally got a float again; and as we were passing somewhat pleasantly we saw a deer in the river. Our men, with their oars well applied, gave chase after him; the race was hard, and for some time the result doubtful; but finally the noble buck was a captive; he was a large and fat deer; it was supposed his meat and skin would weigh nearly one hundred. We arrived at the falls about noon.

Saturday, 10. Bro. Brewer is with us. We are feasting on a part of the noble deer taken yesterday.

Sunday, 11. Our congregation just about as usual.

Monday, 12. We are having beautiful weather. Bro. Abernethy and Brewer are overlooking their old mission accounts; mistake found against the mission, $49.13.

Wednesday, 14. Bro. Brewer leaves, for the Dalls. I have been somewhat busy in furnishing him with supplies for the Dalls station. Advanced as expense things worth $5.00. I have bought of him a cooking stove for the parsonage we now live in for which I paid him $25.70;

also $1.00 for additional pipe, so now we are comfortable for cooking furniture.

Thursday, 15. This morning, Bro. Parrish (passing the night with us) rose early, and alas for the glass lamp that stood on the table, frail thing. We are having very fine and warm weather. The emigrants who came by the Dalls are mostly in.

Sunday, 18. Congregation and appearances about the same from Sabbath to Sabbath.

Tuesday, 20. It is said Mr. Moreland[49] has jumped the island if he should hold it, it is somewhat doubtful how it will go with Oregon Milling Co. which bought the mission debts, and assumed the mission liabilities.

Monday, 26. Bros. Abernethy and Beers propose that I take the island as collateral security for the indebtedness to the mission, Mr. Moreland being willing to give up his lien upon it. To the proposition, I accede. With this arrangement, I think the debts are safe.

Tuesday, 27. Today I send by Mr. Beers sundry notes belonging to Doctor Babcock to the Fort to see if they can be sold at any fair rate. Returned.

Wednesday, 28. Meridian it commences raining as though winter is about to set in. We have had very fine weather up to this time.

[1846] Sunday, November 1. An abundant rain last night. Our congregation smaller than usual. About twenty hearers only. Surely these are days of small things.

Tuesday, 3. The Toulon is again in the Columbia River. We have just received a letter from a friend written at Honolulu saying the boundary line between

[49]Lafayette Moreland, a pioneer of 1844. The *Oregon Spectator* of February 5, 1846, published advertisements showing the purchase by Alanson Beers and George Abernethy of "the stock of the Island Mills and will hereafter carry on the business as a partnership under the name Oregon Milling Company." The notices show that orders for lumber and lath will be filled, and that the flouring mill will be fitted up for the manufacture of flour suitable for exportation. The island had been claimed by McLoughlin as a part of his claim.

the nations concerning this territory is settled; so fears of war may pass away. This news is good to us.[50] We probably have no letters from the states by this arrival.

Friday, 6. This day I visit Mrs. McCarver,[51] sick with the consumption; in great distress of mind; after giving her the best advice I could, we had prayers; she objected to my leaving yet; after some further conversation, we had prayers again; while praying, the second time, she clapped her hands for joy; light broke in upon her gloomy path, and she exulted in the mercy of God.

Sunday, 8. These Sabbaths are much alike. Say thirty hearers; the preacher tries to do his duty; dark and rainy weather.

Saturday, 21. This day I performed the solemn funeral services for the remains of Mrs. McCarver; I believe she died in peace.

Sunday, 22. Our services on the Sabbath are about the same; say thirty hearers on an average; I hope to discharge my duties to this people.

Monday, 23. Dark, Dark, Dark weather. Rain, Rain. Rain. The weather is truly rather gloomy.

Tuesday, 24. This morning, I was invited to attend a wedding in the evening and unite Mr. Brooks and Mrs. Smith in wedlock. I did not accept the invitation—and why not?[52] A little more than a year ago, Mrs. Smith and her husband, Mr. Smith, reached this place, and spent the winter together as man and wife. In the spring he started back for the states, talking as though he meant to return in a year or two, (but probably he meant to leave his wife). She applied to the court early in October for a

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[50]See *News of the Treaty of 1846; How It Reached Oregon,* by B. Wistar Morris, D.D., an address before Oregon Pioneer Ass'n, 1896.

[51]Mrs. M. M. McCarver.

[52]Mrs. Mary Ann Smith was divorced from Samuel F. Smith by the Circuit Court in Clackamas County, November 9, 1847. On November 24, 1847, she was married to John P. Brooks by Rev. Hezekiah Johnson under the name Mary Ann Thomas *(Oregon Spectator,* November 26, 1847). Brooks taught the first school in Clackamas County in the winter of 1843-44.

divorce from her husband, and though there was no pretence that her husband had in any way been guilty of adultery, yet the court granted her a bill. All the evidence, as one of the judges informed me, was, he was not kind to her on the route over the mountains; and it was presumed he did not mean to return. Women who have unkind husbands, Oregon is the place for them.

This afternoon I preached at Gen. McCarver's. I fear his seriousness will pass away like the dew. Elder Johnson,[53] Baptist missionary, attends the wedding.

Sunday, 29. This is a more favorable day than common; congregation larger than ordinary. As faithfulness becomes the house of God forever, I trust the preacher was faithful.

Monday, 30. Three years ago we left the city and port of New York. No regrets we came. Should be glad if we could see a door opening for our return.

[1846] Tuesday, December 1. Today is rather of an important day in this city; the legislative committee meet in this place to make laws for the people of this territory. There is no small degree of delight apparently in this law-making business. Ice this morning as thick as window glass; the first seen here this season.

Wednesday, 2. I believe a majority of the legislature did not convene until today. I learn Mr. Lovejoy is chosen speaker. They have received Gov. Abernethy's message, which, I am informed, urges the cause of temperance with great importunity; and certainly with great fitness.

Thursday, 3. Settled with Mr. Robb for addition and repairs to the parsonage in which we live; bill $90. Paid in books, $27.13, cloth for pants, $5.00, flannel $1.00 Pettigrove, $10.00, Abernethy, $46.87; total $90.

Sunday, 6. Today we have rather of an important congregation; as the legislative committee are in session about these days, quite a number from them attend wor-

[53]Rev. Hezekiah Johnson, arrived December, 1845.

ship; the preacher took occasion to point out the righteousness which exalts a nation and also some of the sins which are a reproach to any people, intemperance, Sabbath breaking, licentiousness.

Monday, 7. Busy writing to friends in the states.

Tuesday, 8. This day I am fifty three years old. Time, it flies; serious thought; surely, all that I do must be done quickly.

We are using our pens to inform our distant friends of our health and welfare.

Friday, 4. There is a strong effort to do away the temperance law; in the legislature now in session.

Saturday, 12. Seal up my letters for the states; 2 sheets to secy; 1 Wm. Armitage for I. Stone;[54] 1 Geo. Gary, Jr., 1 C. W. Leet; 1 M. Adams, 1 A. J. Skilton.

Sunday, 13. A little snow this morning, so that on boards and the roofs of buildings it appears white like quite a white frost. The first snow we have seen this season.

Monday, 14. More snow again this morning, a very little more than there was yesterday morning.

Wednesday, 16. We are having very dark and rainy weather.

Thursday, 17. The sun smiles upon us again, an uncommon event these days.

Sad day in the history of legislation in this territory. The license law comes into being. Our hope is in the veto of the governor. I am informed he will veto it.

Saturday, 17. The license law passes by a majority of two thirds of the legislature, in defiance of the governor's veto.[55] King Alcohol has a legal being here now, and people may get drunk, I suppose, according to law.

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[54]This letter to Isaac Stone bears the address of Mr. William Armitage, Vernon, Oneida County, New York, with an endorsement requesting the latter to deliver it to Stone. It speaks of receipt of news of the boundary settlement, describes the Mission at The Dalles, and expresses the longing of the writer to return East. The MSS. is in the possession of Oregon Historical Society.

[55]See address of J. Quinn Thornton before the Pioneer Ass'n, 1875.

Alas! Alas! for this community. Life is made up of lights and shades. This day I baptize Mrs. Robb and her infant child.

Sunday, 20. Sister Robb joins society; she will, I think, be an ornament to her professing. Bro. Campbell preaches in the afternoon; he would like to be a preacher, but it is doubtful whether he will ever make it out.

Monday, 21. Bro. Campbell is with us; I hardly know what opinion to form of him.

Tuesday, 22. Received a line from Mr. Hobbs[56] of the "Modeste" saying he had received our letters for the states, and will forward them the first opportunity. Alcohol, I suppose, was delighted last night in turning over the back house; very becoming employment for him.

Wednesday, 23. Today Mr. Campbell leaves.

Thursday, 24. The sun shines today.

Saturday, 26. Alcohol has, I believe, considerable attention and admiration paid to him. Drinking and gambling, so far as I can learn, is the delightful employment of quite a proportion of this population.

Sabbath, 27. Just about an ordinary congregation; say from thirty to forty hearers; the most of them appear attentive. I hope the Father of mercies will remember this community.

Monday, 28. Our weather is cloudy and rainy. It is sometimes hard to keep the blues away in this dark and gloomy weather.

Tuesday, 29. We are visited by Mrs. Thornton,[57] who came the new route; she has lately arrived; gives a most distressed account of the latter part of their journey; their company turned off of the old route at Fort Hall, and the story of their sufferings is almost incredible; women waded for miles in water from two to four feet deep; and for weeks day and night had not a dry thread in any of their garments; nearly all their cattle perished

[56]J. M. Hobbs, purser.
[57]Mrs. J. Quinn Thornton.

for want of grass and water; they were assured by Mr. Applegate who persuaded them to take the new route that they would be in to the Williamette valley by the middle of September, and here is, near the last of December, and but a part of them have yet arrived.

Wednesday, 30. The sun shines beautifully today.

(To be concluded in the next issue of the *Quarterly*.)

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MORE ABOUT ASTORIANS*

By STELLA M. DRUMM, *Librarian, Missouri Historical Society*

On April 30, 1813, there arrived in St. Louis seven exhausted men returning from a journey of which more than 1500 miles was on foot. Included in this party were Ramsay Crooks, Robert McClellan and Benjamin Jones. They had left Astoria June 29, 1812, with important dispatches for John Jacob Astor. The little expedition was commanded by Robert Stuart.[1] John Day had also started with them, but because of a mental breakdown was sent back to the Fort. Ramsay Crooks and Robert McClellan had been partners in the Pacific Fur Company, but being dissatisfied gave up their partnership interest and withdrew.[2]

*Address before the annual meeting of the members of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon, October 28, 1923.

[1]In the Pacific Fur Company Minute Book is this resolution: Resolved that it being necessary to send an express to New York and all the papers and other things being prepared, Mr. Robert Stuart is hereby instructed to have and to take charge of them, with which he is to go as directly to N. Y. as circumstances will admit, and there to be governed by the directions of Mr. Astor as to the time of his returning to the Northwest coast. It is also resolved that John Day, Benjamin Jones, Francois LeClerc and Andree Vallee accompany Mr. Stuart as far as St. Louis where he is to pay them the balance due each by means of drafts drawn by our W. P. Hunt on John Jacob Astor. June 27, 1812. (Missouri Hist. Soc. MSS.)

[2]*Ibid.* "Resolved that Robert McClellan having expressed his intention

Upon their arrival at St. Louis the men were hailed with great joy. Much anxiety had been felt for the safety of the Astorians, for news of the fate of the ship *Tonquin* had reached St. Louis in May, 1812.[3]

Starvation, and most every other peril had faced this little band of brave men on their return journey overland, but all their hardships were soon forgotten and great was their enthusiasm over the finding of a new route. The local newspaper in publishing the news of their return said: "The narrative of this event will evince to the world that a journey to the Western Sea will not be considered (within a few years) of much greater importance than a trip to New York." This paper further said that "By information received from these gentlemen a journey across the continent of North America might be performed with a waggon, there being no obstruction in the whole route that any person would dare to call a mountain in addition to its being the most direct route to go from this place to the mouth of the Columbia."[4] Not until the spring of 1830, however, were wagons used on the Oregon Trail.

When the party reached the Walla Walla river on this return journey they secured horses from the Indians and started off southward and across the Blue Mountains. After leaving the Snake river country they became confused and were lost. They suffered almost every hardship imaginable. They were followed by a party of hostile Crows who stampeded their horses and thus forced

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of withdrawing from the concern should he not have an augmentation of shares be permitted so to withdraw, and that he be no longer considered a partner of the Pacific Fur Co., nor in any way entitled to any right, etc. arising from his having been a partner. Astoria, March 1, 1812.

Ramsay Crooks relinquished all right to the interest he held in the Pacific Fur Co.—to-wit five shares. Also relinquished all profits and emoluments or privileges arising from having been a partner thereof. Binds himself not to engage or be concerned in the Indian trade or in any business whatever which may effect the interest of said Company. May 14, 1812." (Missouri Hist. Soc. MSS.)

[3]Letter from Charles Gratiot, St. Louis, May 31, 1812, to John Jacob Astor. (Gratiot Letter Book—Mo. Hist. Soc. MSS.)

[4]*Missouri Gazette,* May 8th and 15th, 1813.

them to proceed on foot. Being without food for five days, LeClerc suggested that lots be cast to decide which one of the party should be killed and devoured, as the only alternative to death for all. Fortunately this suggestion was not adopted. Because of the dangers encountered on the outward journey they chose a more southerly route, leading to the Platte and thence to the Missouri river, where canoes were secured for the last lap of the arduous journey. The route taken by them, in its greater extent, became later the Oregon Trail. Ramsay Crooks claimed they went through the celebrated South Pass,[5] the discovery of which in later years, has been credited to Fitzpatrick and other, and claimed also by Fremont.

How short-lived is popular enthusiasm and hero-worship! During the campaign for Governor of the new State of Missouri, in 1820, the followers of Gen. William Clark urged his election because "he had been to the Pacific Ocean and had seen and faced many hostile Indians." An opposition paper scornfully printed an editorial to the effect that having seen the Pacific Ocean was not a sufficient qualification; that Wilson P. Hunt had also been there, but was considered unfit for a seat in the Constitutional Convention and was actually defeated. The editor further stated "we doubt very much if Russell Farnham, who has been to the Pacific Ocean, and who is the only man who has circumnavigated the globe overland in northern latitudes, would be thought to be entitled to the office of Governor of Missouri." A few years later when George Shannon was a candidate for United States Senator from Missouri an enthusiastic campaigner boasted of the part he had taken, when a mere youth, in the famous expedition of Lewis and Clark. He was likewise ridiculed and defeated.

You all know the story of the struggle, hardships and

[5]Letter from Ramsay Crooks to Anthony Dudgeon, New York, June 26, 1856.

failure of the Pacific Fur Company. Something of the lives of the leaders and a few of the men has been published, but there is much of interest left to be told.

I have selected for comment four of these men, whose lives are of interest to most people. Two of them had unusually romantic and eventful lives. Another gave his name to two streams in the Oregon Country[6] and there, in the language of the old trappers "paid the debt of nature." Still another, though known simply as a guide and hunter, was evidently a man of substance and education.

Russel Farnham

An oil portrait of this Astorian is hanging in the museum of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, and the label contains this legend: "Walked from Oregon to St. Petersburg, 1813-1814."

Upon reading this statement one might well exclaim: "Remarkable, if true!" It has been questioned many times, of course, but any one referring to our local histories will find it verified.[7] They say that he walked from St. Louis to St. Petersburg. These accounts would be more nearly exact if they did not picture him as walking across the frozen Straits. The truth about Farnham is stranger than fiction, and this fable detracts from, instead of adding to, his just fame.

The occasion of this remarkable journey was the desire to avoid capture by the British and to convey important dispatches, and possibly drafts, to Mr. Astor.[8] On November 12, 1813, the remaining partners at Astoria (Hunt being absent) sold out to the North West

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[6]John Day creek near the mouth of the Columbia, and the John Day river in Eastern Oregon.

[7]Darby, John F.—*Personal Recollections of Many Prominent People.* St. Louis, 1880.

Shepard, Elihu H.—*Early History of St. Louis and Missouri.* St. Louis, 1870.

[8]Franchere, Gabriel—*Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America.* Redfield, 1854, pp. 369, 370.

Company. The sale brought $58,000. After deducting wages this balance, together with the records, had to be sent to New York. Accordingly, Mr. Hunt on March 18, 1814, together with Farnham, J. C. Halsey, Alfred Seton and Bernard Clapp, embarked on a brig known as the *Pedlar*. They were compelled to stay at anchor until April 3, 1814, on account of the winds. Farnham was landed at Kamchatka, in Siberia, Halsey at Sitka. Mr. Hunt and Seton remained on the boat, which was captured off the coast of California, and held for two months.

The brig *Pedlar* had been purchased by Mr. Hunt at the Sandwich Islands, after he had waited a long while for the arrival of a ship expected from Mr. Astor. He paid $10,550.00[9] for it, and expected to use it for transporting provisions to Astoria, and for carrying away the furs.

From Kamchatka, Farnham started on his long journey to New York, walking through Russia and much of Europe. Most accounts say that he sailed from Hamburg to New York, by way of the West Indies. His passport, however, shows that he sailed from the city of Copenhagen.

This passport, dated 10 A. M. October 16, 1816, from the Police Magistrate in the Royal Residence, City of Copenhagen, makes known that the "super-cargo Russel Farnham, 32 years old, born in America, speaks English, is tall of stature, and of medium build, with light curly hair and brown eyes, intends now to journey from this City to the port of Baltimore. My official request is to all and every one whom said Russel Farnham may meet, that they allow him to pass on his journey without hindrance. The pass applies only to this and no other journeys, and here in this City only for three times 24 hours."

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[9]Ross, Alexander—*Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*. Thwaites ed. vol. 7, p. 261.

Coues, Elliott—*New Light on Early History of the Greater Northwest*.

John F. Darby, who served as the final administrator of the estate of Russel Farnham, says that Farnham had been intrusted with sterling bills on London for about forty thousand dollars, together with various dispatches, that Mr. Hunt had directed him to proceed by way of St. Petersburg, so that the bills might be collected for the benefit of Mr. Astor. "Mr. Farnham, with a small stock of provisions in a pack on his back, started on foot, across the Russian dominions, through that inhospitable country and severe climate to St. Petersburg. On this perilous journey he endured incredible sufferings, from hunger, exposure and want. From dire necessity he was forced to cut and eat the tops off his boots to sustain life. But having been blest with a robust and powerful constitution, which enabled him to meet and endure hardships, and an indomitable will and determination, whereby he was armed to overcome difficulties and dangers, he performed a feat which, for personal bravery, danger and daring, has never been equalled by any one man in ancient or modern times. He did that which Ledyard, the great American traveller, acting under instructions from Thomas Jefferson, had failed in twice, viz: to come east (that is, find a passage) from St. Petersburg to the American continent."[10]

After Farnham returned to the United States he continued in the employ of Mr. Astor. When the American Fur Company resumed operations after the War of 1812, Farnham bore the brunt of battle during the company's struggle to establish itself on the Missouri. To him belongs the credit of being the first trader in the employ of the American Fur Company to carry the business of that company into the valley of the Missouri.

The American Fur Company's force was largely recruited from Montreal, and when Farnham was assigned, in 1817, to manage the business on the Mississippi river and its dependencies, his outfit was composed mainly of

[10]Darby, John F.—*Personal Recollections.* St. Louis, 1880, p. 165.

Canadians. The Missouri Fur Company, and more especially Manuel Lisa, made strenuous efforts to keep Mr. Astor and the American Fur Company out of the Missouri country. This jealousy of the St. Louis traders towards Mr. Astor's company seemed to have affected in some degree the officials in the United States Indian Department. An act was passed in 1816 excluding British traders, although it did not prevent the engagement of foreigners in the service of American traders. Most of Mr. Astor's engagès were Canadians and the authorities near St. Louis seized upon this circumstance as proof of a violation of the law. Col. Talbot Chambers, of the Rifle Regiment, stationed at Fort Crawford, in September, 1817, thought proper to deny foreigners permission to accompany American traders down the Mississippi, and refused to recognize any authority to trade in that country other than the licenses emanating from the Governors of the Missouri and Illinois Territories. He therefore seized upon two boats belonging to the American Fur Company in command of Russel Farnham and Daniel Darling. These men and their boats were ordered to proceed to Fort Bellefontaine (not far from St. Louis) and report to Gen. Clark. Unfortunately Farnham had on board two notorious characters, one, a man named St. John, who had boasted of having hoisted on his boat, during the War of 1812, the scalps of three Americans. Farnham and Darling were en route to the DesMoines river to trade, and Col. Chambers insisted that in order to do so they must first obtain a license from Gen. Clark. Chambers permitted the boats to proceed, and gave them a letter to present to the military posts between Fort Crawford and St. Louis. During this passage they were positively prohibited from holding any intercourse with the Indians, save when absolutely necessary to satisfy immediate wants, or to land. Col. Chambers wrote Maj. Morgan that Farnham and Darling "appeared to be hardened rascals."

When Farnham and Darling reached Fort Armstrong it was reported that Farnham had declared his intention to commence trading with the Indians three miles below that place. When Maj. Morgan, in command at Fort Armstrong, heard this he put Farnham and his crew under arrest and sent them to St. Louis accompanied by a guard of soldiers under the command of W. S. Blair.

The matter of the arrest of Farnham and Darling, together with other unjust treatment given the American Fur Company, was presented to the President of the United States, and suit was promptly brought by the company against Col. Chambers. A verdict for $5000.00 damages was recovered.[11]

In March, 1819, Farnham started up the Missouri river to trade, at which time Ramsay Crooks wrote him "There is nothing to prevent your going into the Missouri country now with your Canadians."

Apparently he was relieved from the trade on the upper Missouri for in 1821 and 1822 he was again assigned to the trade on the Mississippi. The next year he was with the Sac Outfit with headquarters at Fort Armstrong, in partnership with Col. George Davenport, under the firm name of Farnham and Davenport. They had a store on Rock Island and were, of course, agents for the American Fur Company. They built the first house on the mainland in the vicinity of Fort Armstrong, which became the nucleus of a settlement that later sprung up and was named Farnhamsburg. Unfortunately the place has ceased to bear his name, being now called Rock Island.

Farnham made many visits to St. Louis, in the interest of the American Fur Company, and served as witness to the treaty between the United States and the Kansas Indians in 1825. On one of these visits he met pretty Susan Bosseron, daughter of Charles Bosseron, an early French settler of wealth and respectibility. Their mar-

[11]Letters of Thomas Forsythe and William Clark in Mo. Hist. Soc. MSS.; Wisconsin Historical Society collections, vols. 19 and 20.

riage took place at the old Cathedral in St. Louis, October 27, 1829. The Church Register contains an entry that he was born in Massachusetts, and also gives the names of his parents.

At this time he held himself out as a resident of St. Louis. In 1821, and the years following, he acquired considerable land in the village of Portage des Sioux, a place in St. Charles County, Missouri, where most of the treaties with the Mississippi and Missouri valley Indians were signed. Farnham maintained a well stocked farm at Portage des Sioux, and a beautiful home, which contained, among other luxuries, a piano. He also owned a number of slaves.

In the early part of 1832 Farnham went East, possibly New York. Upon his return he remained at his home for a time, and then proceeded by boat to Forts Armstrong and Edwards to look after the trade with the Sacs and Foxes and to supply provisions and guns to the military posts.

He returned to St. Louis in October of that year, and, on the 23rd of the month, was there stricken with cholera and died within two hours. He was buried in the Catholic cemetery in St. Louis. When Ramsay Crooks heard of his death he wrote to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., as follows: "Poor Farnham! he has paid the debt of nature after a life of uncommon activity and endless exposure. Peace to his remains. He underwent greater privations than any half dozen of us. He was one of the best meaning, but the most sanguine, man I almost ever met with. During all the ravages of the pestilence here (New York) and the unexpected rapidity with which some of my friends were hurried to their long account, I never felt anything like the sensation I experienced upon hearing of my honest friend's death, for I did not know he was at St. Louis and thought him safe in some part of the wilderness."

Russel Farnham was born in Massachusetts in 1784,

and was the son of John Farnham and Susan Chapin. He was a typical frontiersman of the better class, energetic and resourceful, and was respected alike by his employers, comrades and opponents. A companionable and sociable fellow, and fond of playing jokes.

He had joined the sea expedition of the Pacific Fur Company in the capacity of a clerk and sailed on the *Tonquin*. While in the Oregon country he had many thrilling adventures. He was one of a party who pursued and captured a number of deserters in November, 1811; was in the Indian fight at The Dalles, when Reed's tin box was stolen; was the executioner of the Indian whom John Clarke ordered hanged for the theft of a gold goblet, June 1, 1813; assisted in building a post near Spokane. In 1812-1813, he wintered among the Flatheads, crossing the Rocky Mountains with this tribe to the headwaters of the Missouri.[12]

Only one child was born to Russel Farnham and Ssan Bosseron, Charles Russel Farnham, who died when eighteen years old. Mrs. Farnham survived her husband only one year.

In the treaty between the United States and the Sacs and Foxes made September 21, 1832, it was provided that, at the "earnest request" of the Indians, Farnham and Davenport should be paid $40,000.00 in satisfaction of their claims against the tribe for articles of necessity furnished them during the seven preceding years.

Missouri Historical Society has a number of letters written by Farnham, one of them being in French. They indicate that he was a man of education and that he had a good knowledge of the French language.

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[12]Ross, Alex.—*Adventures of First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*. Thwaites edition, vol. 7, p. 211.

Robert McClellan

This romantic character of the West was one of the seven Astorians who returned overland to St. Louis. He was the son of Robert McClellan and was born in Pennsylvania near Mercersburg, in 1770. Here he was schooled in all the arts of woodcraft and inured to the hardships of frontier life. His first employment was as "pack-horseman."

McClellan was an expert shot, steady of hand, keen of eye, robust, enterprising, and absolutely fearless. He was of slight physique, but muscular, displaying strength, activity and firmness. His eyes were dark, deep-set and piercing. He was reckless and impetuous, with a temper that was sometimes ungovernable. McClellan was a great athlete and stories are related about his marvelous feats. On one occasion he beat a horse in a race on a stretch of ground between Mercersburg and Fort Loudon, which was afterwards known as the "race track." We are told that while he was at Fort Hamilton he would frequently leap over the tallest horse, without apparent exertion; that while walking in the town of Lexington, Kentucky, he came upon a yoke of large oxen obstructing the narrow sidewalk, and instead of walking around them he, without hesitating, jumped over them. When with the Army at Greenville, at a trial of feats of strength among the soldiers, he leaped over a wagon with a covered top, a height of eight and one-half feet.[13]

In 1790 McClellan's restless disposition led him to seek adventure in the West. His personal prowess and daring nature suggested the Army, which he entered in the capacity of spy, or ranger, at Fort Gower, a stockade fort just above the mouth of the Hocking at the Ohio river. He served as a spy under General Wayne, and rendered valuable service in the Indian campaigns; remaining in the Army until after General Wayne's treaty

[13]McBride, James—*Pioneer Biographical Sketches of Some of the Early Settlers of Butler County, Ohio.* Cincinnati, 1871, vol. 2, pp. 1-98.

with the Indians in August, 1794, which terminated the Indian War. He attained the rank of Lieutenant while in the service.

After the disbanding of Wayne's Army McClellan made his home with his brother at Hamilton, Ohio, spending most of his time hunting and often remaining in the woods days at a time.

In the the Summer of 1799 he went to New Orleans, where he endured a long illness from yellow fever. Being in poor health and suffering from the wounds received in the Indian campaigns, he decided to go East and obtain, if possible, a pension for his services and wounds. One of the wounds he suffered was from a shot under the shoulder blade, the ball coming out at the top of his shoulder. He went first to Philadelphia, and later to New York in search of Gen. Wilkinson, from whom he obtained the necessary certificates, which he presented to the Secretary of War at Philadelphia. The latter sent him to the examining surgeon, who reported that McClellan was entitled to only one-third pension, which for his rank, Lieutenant, was only twenty-six pounds Pennsylvania currency per year.

McClellan was greatly offended at this and declined to accept the pension. The Quartermaster General of the Army having some knowledge of McClellan and his services, induced him to accept the pension and also a position in his Department. In 1801 McClellan was sent on business connected with the Commissary Department to St. Louis, when, after completing his mission, he retired from the service.

His next venture was trading with the Indians, and his first returns amounted to one thousand dollars. This success gave him a taste for trading and for some years he made trading trips up the Missouri river. On one of these trips (September 12, 1806) he met Captains Lewis

and Clark, former comrades and friends, returning from their famous expedition.[14]

The following year (1807) he entered into partnership with Ramsay Crooks, an adventurous Scotchman, and in the fall of that year they set out on an expedition to the upper Missouri. On the way they met Ensign Nathaniel Pryor returning, after his defeat by the Arikaras, to St. Louis with the Mandan Chief. The report which Pryor gave them of the hostile attitude of the Sioux and Arikaras, made them decide to turn back. When they got back nearly to Council Bluffs they set up an establishment and remained there until the Spring of 1809. Then, following the expedition of the Missouri Fur Company, they again tried to ascend the river, but before proceeding very far were stopped by six hundred Sioux, who forced them to land and erect a fort in their country.[15]

McClellan always accused Manuel Lisa of inciting the Sioux against him and Crooks, and threatened that if ever he fell in with Lisa in the Indian country he would shoot him. If it had not been for the interference of Mr. Hunt, on several occasions, he would have carried out his threat.[16]

In 1810 Crooks and McClellan dissolved partnership and McClellan continued the business alone. He established a trading post on the Missouri two hundred miles above the Nodaway, erecting a cabin and store room for his goods and furs. Again his old enemies, the Sioux, frustrated his plans. They surrounded his cabin one day, disarmed his men, and plundered his store room of its contents, amounting to about three thousand dollars. McClellan was absent from his cabin at the time, and when he returned and learned what had happened he

[14]Thwaites' edition *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,* vol. 5, p. 373.

[15]Bradbury, John—*Travels in the Interior of America.* London, 1819.

[16]Brackenridge, H. M.—*Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri.* Pittsburgh, 1814.

went boldly to the Indians and demanded restoration. He succeeded in recovering only about five hundred dollars worth of his goods. Completely dispirited, he divided what he had among his men, in compensation for their services, and shortly afterwards the whole party started back to St. Louis. When they reached the mouth of the Nodaway they found encamped the overland expedition of the Pacific Fur Company, in charge of Wilson P. Hunt. McClellan was happy to find in the party his old friend and partner Ramsay Crooks, who had joined the enterprise in Canada. It needed but little persuasion to induce McClellan to accept a few shares and become a partner in expedition.

About this time McClellan wrote to his brother William the following letter: "Six days ago I arrived at this place from my settlement, which is two hundred miles above on the Missouri. My mare is with you at Hamilton, having two colts. I wish you to give one to brother John, the other to your son James, and the mare to your wife. If I possessed anything more except my gun at present, I would throw it into the river, or give it away, as I intend to begin the world anew tomorrow."

When McClellan and party reached Astoria, in January, 1812, he was haggard, emaciated and in rags. While he had proven a very valuable man to the enterprise, he soon became dissatisfied with his position in the company and resigned his interest. Although in Astoria only a short time he decided to return with Reed and party, whom Mr. Hunt sent with dispatches to Mr. Astor on March 22, 1812.

When Reed and his party reached The Dalles they were robbed and attacked by the Indians. Reed was badly wounded and the tin box containing the dispatches was captured by the Indians. The bright, shiny tin box, coveted by the Indians, was the cause of the trouble. The important dispatches being lost the object of the journey

was defeated, so Reed, McClellan and the others in the party returned to Astoria.

McClellan, however, was persistent in his determination to go back to St. Louis and when Robert Stuart was sent by Mr. Hunt with another set of dispatches McClellan joined the party. As Mr. Stuart had gone to Astoria by ship it was necessary to send with him well tried men as hunters and guides. Benjamin Jones, John Day, Andre Vallèe and Francois LeClerc were chosen for this purpose, all of these men having been in Mr. Hunt's overland party.

The party left Astoria, as before stated, on June 29, 1812, on their perilous overland journey to St. Louis. On one occasion when danger from the Blackfeet was threatened, the party for greater safety, wanted to make a detour through rugged and difficult country. Mr. McClellan, greatly fatigued, and therefore somewhat more stubborn and irascible than usual, swore he would rather face all the Blackfeet in the country than encounter the difficulties of the mountains. He refused to stay with the others and left in a huff. All alone he trudged along through the wilderness. Such a desperate course must have required considerable courage. Ten days later, the rest of the party found him encamped, without fire or food, and reduced through hunger and fatigue to a mere skeleton. He could not help showing his joy at seeing his friends again, and cheerfully rejoined them. Being too feeble to walk, the party encamped for several days in order that he might recover a little. When they started off he was not able to carry anything, his pistols and rifle being carried by his comrades, most of whom were not much better off. They wandered about for five days and nights without a mouthful to eat, and were reduced to the last extremity. Now and then some deer were seen but they had not sufficient strength to use their rifles. It was at this period that one of the party suggested "it were better that one should die than that all

should perish." The next day, Providence directed their forlorn steps to a solitary old buffalo bull, which they managed to kill, thus saving their lives.

They arrived in St. Louis on April 30, 1813, and while happy to be back to civilization, McClellan was no more enriched in health or purse than when he wrote to his brother on December 20, 1810, that with nothing more than his gun he was beginning the world anew.

On May 18, 1813, he was committed to prison for debt and was forced to take advantage of the bankruptcy act.[17] Here it was necessary to make another start, for he had accumulated nothing but debts, suffering and hardships for his several years in the Astorian expedition.

The following January, Risdon H. Price of St. Louis furnished him with a stock of goods with which to open up a store at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, but ill health forced him to close out and return to St. Louis within six months' time. Then his friend, Abraham Gallatin, placed him on his farm called *Marino*, in St. Louis County, and he recovered sufficiently to go back and forth to St. Louis.

Later records show McClellan again in battle with the Indians, not as a soldier, but as a citizen, in the famous Missouri battle of the War of 1812 known as the "Fight at the Sink Hole." On May 24, 1815, the Indians made an attack on a detachment of soldiers from Fort Howard, killing the Captain, Lieutenant, five privates and one citizen, besides wounding a number of soldiers and two of the citizens who came to the aid of the soldiers. The report of this affair says that Robert McClellan and other citizens deserved credit for their spirited exertions.[18]

About this time he seems to have been conducting horse races, at least he had two race horses, the more famous one being called "Plough Boy." At the time of

[17] *Missouri Gazetete,* May 29, 1813.
[18] *Missouri Gazette,* May 27, 1815.

his death he owed his friend, Abraham Gallatin, $39.25, which was for thirty days' boarding of himself and two boys, for three bushels of oats, stabling for two horses, a quart of whiskey (twenty-five cents) and dinner for the judges on the first day's racing.

Robert McClellan died November 22, 1815, having been seriously ill for five days. He was buried, presumably by his old friend and comrade of the early Indian campaigns, Gen. William Clark. In 1875 a tombstone was unearthed on the old Clark farm in St. Louis County, Missouri, which caused some newspaper comment. A copy of the inscription was published and old citizens were interviewed regarding "Capt. Robert McClellan." Mr. John F. Darby stated that he thought McClellan was a friend of Clark's and was killed in a duel. If Capt. McClellan was killed in a duel there was no mention made of it in the newspaper at the time, and the doctor's bill does not indicate that he was treating a wound. The inscription on the tombstone was as follows:

"To the memory of Capt. Robert McClellan. This stone is erected by a friend who knew him to be brave, honest and sincere; an intrepid warrior, whose services deserve perpetual remembrance. A. D. 1816."

The sale of his horses brought $172.50, and his wearing apparel $145.50. His debts amounted to $196.00. The inventory and appraisement of his personal property is rather interesting, considering he spent most of his life in the wilderness. You might like to hear some of the contents of his wardrobe:

Black cloth coat	$12.00
Great coat	18.00
Striped blue summer vest	.75
Striped blue Toilinet vest, old	.25
Pair blue cloth pantaloons	1.50
Pair white stockinet pantaloons	6.00
Pair Nankeen pantaloons, old	.50
Pair of boots	5.50

Pair of shoes	.50
Four long linen shirts	9.50
One dickey	.50
Three colored cravats and 1 pad	1.00
Three flannel shirts	5.00
Five pocket handkerchiefs	1.50
Pair dimity suspenders & silver buckles	2.50
Two pairs black silk stockings	5.00
Shaving apparatus, viz: 5 razors, 1 shaving box, 1 looking glass and strop, 1 coarse comb, 1 sealing wax, 1 clothes brush, shaving soap	3.00
Comfort, 2 pairs suspenders and 1/3 yd of cloth	1.50
1 trunk	3.50
Pair Cassimere pantaloons, worn	1.50
Satin vest	1.50
Two towels	.37½
Wampum and knife	1.00
1 skin pocketbook	.25
Small morocco pocketbook	.50
Small memorandum book	.25
1 Sorrel horse said to be 6 years old	70.00
1 Horse Plough Boy	80.00
Bridle, saddle and saddle-bags	32.00

John Day

If John Day left any descendants, they might easily establish their eligibility to that very exclusive organization, the "F. F. V.'s;" for a John Day, no doubt his ancestor, was living in Virginia at "Ye College Land" in 1623.[19] The Day family was rather conspicuous in the early history of Virginia, in Isle of Wight County, and a John Day was a member of the last House of Burgesses from that county.[20]

There were at least two John Days in the Revolution, and I hope the Daughters of the American Revolution of Oregon will be able to prove that one of them was John Day of Astoria fame. One of these John Days was a

[19] *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 24, p. 124.
[20] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 255.

corporal in the Minute Men from Northampton County; one served in the 5th Virginia Regiment from Culpepper County;[21] and the same one, or possibly a third John Day, was a private in the Virginia Continental line, for which service he received two hundred acres of land in Kentucky.[22] His warrant was issued February 11, 1784, and was later assigned to Henry Banks.

John Day was the son of Ambrose Day of Culpepper County, Virginia. He had a brother, Lewis, and there was a Lewis Day who had a plantation at Limestone (now Maysville), Kentucky, in 1797.[23] This town was a rendezvous for Daniel Boone and other famous frontiersmen.

I like to think that the John Day, who received the military grant of land in Kentucky, was our John Day. It is very likely that he was considerably older than forty years when he joined the expedition at the Nodaway river, and was therefore probably old enough to serve in the Revolutionary War. It is quite possible that he met Daniel Boone in Kentucky, after the latter was planning to go to Missouri, and decided to join him.

On March 2, 1798, John Day was in St. Louis petitioning the Spanish Lieutenant Governor to grant him "two hundred and forty arpens of land on a river south of the Missouri." He stated that he wished to use this land for a *habitacion* (plantation).[24] In passing I might say that just about this time the Spanish Governor had invited the immigration of Americans to Upper Louisiana, and had promised them concessions of land.

In addition to this concession of two hundred and forty arpens Day apparently acquired another concession of seven hundred arpens from the Spanish Government on the "Waters of Point Labaddie Creek," County of St.

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[21] Virginia State Library. Ninth Report, p. 88.

[22] *Yearbook of the Society, Sons of Revolution,* Kentucky. Lexington, 1913, p. 211.

[23] *William and Mary Quarterly,* 2d ser., vol. 1, p. 153.

[24] *Original petition of John Dey (Day) to Lieutenant-Governor Upper Louisiana.* Mo. Hist. Soc. MSS.

Louis. This concession was confirmed in 1812 to the legal representatives of John Day.[25]

Day endeavored to cultivate this land from time to time until he joined the Hunt party. When he was away trapping, and not occupying his little cabin, he had it rented out. In 1802 he had a good sized corn field, but the following year the whole settlement around Point Labaddie was broken up by the invasion of hostile Indians. In 1804 Day engaged Asa Musick to cultivate the land and allowed him the use of his cabin. Musick planted peach trees, erected a new house and improved the place generally, making thus the first permanent improvements beyond the Bon Homme settlement.[26] This land is now included in Franklin County, the next county southwest of St. Louis County.

The next year Day sold, or mortgaged, part of his plantation to Asa Musick, and started off to the Boone's Lick Country.

From 1806 until he joined the Hunt expedition at the Nodaway, he was probably hunting and trapping on the Missouri and working his mines. In 1809 he formed a partnership with Benjamin Cooper and John Farrel to work the saltpeter mines he had discovered.

In April, 1809, Day was in St. Louis, and for the small sum of $15.00 assigned to John Withinton "all my right, title, claim and interest in and to a tract of land that I hold or may hold, the same being and lying on Point Labaddie Creek and the improvements on the north side of the Creek and near the big slew that runs in the bottom." This instrument, for some reason or other, was not filed for record until April 28, 1840.[27]

According to Irving, "John Day was a hunter from the backwoods of Virginia, who had been for several years on the Missouri in the service of Crooks and other

[25] *Amer. State Papers,* Public Lands, vol. 3, p. 326.
[26] *Bates Minutes.*
[27] *Franklin County Deed Records.*

traders. He was about forty years of age, six feet two inches high, straight as an Indian, with an elastic step as if he trod on springs, and a handsome, open, manly countenance. It was his boast that in his younger days, nothing could hurt or daunt him, but he had 'lived too fast,' and injured his constitution by his excesses. Still he was strong of hand, bold of heart, a prime woodsman, and an almost unerring shot. He had the frank spirit of a Virginian and the thorough heroism of a pioneer of the West."

In November, 1810, John Day met the Hunt overland party in winter quarters at the Nodaway, and was induced to join them in the enterprise. In the following December, while on the way to Astoria, he became so ill that Mr. Hunt was compelled to leave him behind, near Weiser, Idaho, on the banks of the Snake river. Ramsay Crooks remained with him, and to this kindness John Day owed his life. The following Spring the two men made their way across the Blue Mountains to the Columbia river. They suffered many hardships, were robbed by the Indians of everything and left naked near the mouth of a river which has ever since been called the John Day river. They were finally rescued by Robert Stuart and his party and taken to Astoria, arriving there in May, 1812.

Day started with the Stuart party returning to St. Louis, but before proceeding very far he became violently insane, and was left with some Indians who promised to take him back to Astoria. Irving said he died within a year, but in this was, of course, mistaken. For, after the sale of the Pacific Fur Company, Day entered the service of the North West Company and remained with that company in the Upper Snake Country until his death in 1820. For a time there seemed to be some question about the identity of the John Day of the North West Company, but the finding of the will, which was probated in Chautauqua County, New York, October 29, 1836, settled the

question beyond a doubt. A copy of the will was published in volume 17 of the Oregon Historical Quarterly, whereby he bequeathed to Donald MacKenzie land which he received from the Spanish Government in 1798, all his right and pretensions to the saltpeter lands about the Boone's Lick at the river Missouri, and all the profits arising therefrom after the commencement of his partnership with Cooper and Farrel. To Miss Rachel MacKenzie, daughter of Donald MacKenzie, he bequeathed all his ready cash and lawful interest arising therefrom and lying in the hand of his former master, Mr. John Jacob Astor. Donald MacKenzie, in proving the will, stated that John Day died February 16, 1820, "on the south side of the river Columbia in the Territory of Oregon."

In the manuscript collection of the Missouri Historical Society I have found some correspondence from Alexander MacKenzie, a grandnephew of Donald MacKenzie, in which he stated that he had before him the original will of John Day and gives a copy of the text thereof. There are some minor differences between the will as published in your Quarterly and the copy made by Mr. MacKenzie. For instance, he gives one witness's name as William Kiteson, instead of William Rettson. But the most interesting part of our copy, lacking in your publication, is the note attached to the will, as follows:

"On the 16th February about 2 P. M. he 'Departed this Life viewing Mr. MacKenzie as the *Man* at whose hands he had ever experienced the most kindness,' he therefore said he bequeathed to him all he possessed: Deeming it too inconsiderate to divide among his relations, but requested Mr. MacKenzie to inform his brothers Lewis and Willis. He appeared to die the death of a good man. Signed February 17, 1820. William Kiteson James Birnie."[28]

[28]With the permission of Miss Drumm the following is added to her interesting sketch of John Day:

In the Henry-Thompson Journals, edited by Dr. Elliott Coues and published in N. Y., 1897, vol. 2, p. 861, under date March 29, 1814, it is stated that "arrangements were made with J. Day, Carson and other

Mr. MacKenzie, in the letter referred to, states that the money in Astor's hands belonging to John Day was never paid over to the legatees until the Court compelled him to do so; that Astor had acknowledged the debt from time to time, but his final objection was to the paying of two and a half per cent interest on the same. Final settlement was made of the estate June 25, 1838.

Benjamin Jones

This man was also a member of Robert Stuart's overland party. He and Alexander Carson were returning from a two years' hunting trip on the upper Missouri when they met Hunt and his party near the Omaha villages, in May, 1811. It has been suggested that Jones was one of the forty "Americans and expert riflemen" who escorted the Mandan chief to his nation.[29] Irving says Jones and Carson before they met the Hunt party had been leisurely floating down the turbulent Missouri, through regions infested by savage tribes, yet apparently

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freemen, on halves for Spanish river." And on page 875 of the same volume, under date April 4, 1814, his name is listed among the passengers up the Columbia river in the large brigade of canoes departing from Fort George (Astoria) on that day. Spanish river would be the Green river of the present time, but the reference would be to the entire interior basin of Southern Idaho, Western Wyoming and Northern Utah, to which Donald MacKenzie returned in the Fall of 1818. We are to presume then that our John Day was engaged in trapping and hunting in that dangerous and extensive region until his death in February, 1820, as a free hunter for the NorthWest Company.

The name of one of the witnesses to his will should be spelled Kittson, who is very clearly identified as William Kittson, who came to the Columbia river district in 1817-18, and who is described by Alex. Ross at page 207, vol. 2 of his Fur Hunters of the Far West. In the probate records of the will the name appears as Rettson. William Kittson was prominent in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company until his death at Fort Vancouver, Cowlitz or Nesqually in 1840 or 1841. His brother, Norman Kittson, was an associate of James J. Hill in early real estate and railroad affairs at St. Paul, Minn.

Contemporaneous with Kittson there came to the Columbia district James Birnie, afterward prominent at Astoria and Cathlamet on the Columbia. Descendants of these two men are connected with prominent families of Montana and British Columbia and Washington and Oregon. —T. C. ELLIOTT.

[29]Chittenden, Hiram M.—*The Amer. Fur Trade of the Far West.* Vol. 1, p. 187.

as unconcerned as if navigating securely in the midst of civilization.

The acquisition of two such hardy, experienced and dauntless hunters was peculiarly acceptable to Hunt. These two needed but little persuasion to join the outfit. The wilderness is the home of the trapper. Like the sailor, he cares but little to which point of the compass he steers. Jones and Carson willingly abandoned their voyage to St. Louis, and turned their faces towards the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific.

Jones served in the capacity of guide as well as hunter, for he was well acquainted with the whole of the country between the Mandans and the Aricaras. Because of his skill and expertness as guide and hunter he was later assigned to the Stuart party on the return expedition.

Jones was a Virginian by birth, his father having emigrated from England. The fascinating tales of the frontier induced him to leave his father's home, in Kanawha County, when he was about sixteen years of age. Jones was in St. Louis prior to 1802, although he seems to have gone first to Kentucky, for he was referred to by Irving as the "Kentuckian Benjamin Jones." His brother Lewis, when very young, also ran away from home and came to St. Louis in 1802. He married Delinda Hayes, a granddaughter of Daniel Boone.

When Jones returned to St. Louis in 1813, after an absence of four or five years, he purchased a farm in St. Louis County on the Mississippi river, just below the mouth of the Missouri. It contained 240 arpens. There he pursued the vocation of farmer for a few years, but finally becoming restless, he longed for the freedom and excitement of a hunter's life. Starting off on another expedition, this time to Santa Fe, he remained away for another four years.

Returning to St. Louis, Jones removed his family to the neighboring town of Carondelet, and later to a tract of land on Gravois Creek, in the neighborhood of Wilson

P. Hunt; having in cultivation one hundred acres of it when he died.

Jones died in June, 1835, from cholera, leaving his widow, Margaret, who died in May, 1837, and five children: Elvira, Melinda, Ramsey Crooks, Wilson Hunt and William Arbuckle Jones. The three boys were minors and their father's intimate friend, Wilson Price Hunt, was appointed their guardian.

The inventory of Jones' estate shows that he left a considerable fortune for that day, including fourteen slaves, a library of fifty-four books, a pleasure carriage and two well matched roan horses, live stock, farming implements and considerable real estate. He requested that the slaves bequeathed to his children should never be sold by them or their heirs "under any pretence whatever." Jones made provision in his will for the education of his children.[30]

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[30]In the name of God—Amen. I Benjamin Jones, of the county of St. Louis in the State of Missouri, being in feeble health of Body, but of sound and disposing mind and memory, do make, declare and publish, this to be my Last will and Testament, hereby revoking and declaring null and void, all former wills by me made. First—I give and bequeath, to my well beloved wife, Margaret Jones, all my Estate, real, personal and mixed, during her natural life,—excepting therefrom the Legacies to Rowena Robinson and Jane Kirker, hereinafter mentioned, and my Lot of ground in the Town of Carondelet, State aforesaid, which I give and bequeath to my wife, & to her Heirs and assigns forever. And it is especially my will and desire, that my wife shall take possession of all my estate, upon my decease, with as little delay and formality as possible,—and that she shall continue to reside upon my Home place, & conduct the farming, and other business, in which I am now engaged, with as little change as possible. Secondly—At the death of my wife, it is my will that the following distribution, or appointment, of my Estate shall be made—to wit:—To my sons Ramsey Crooks Jones and Wilson Hunt Jones, and to their heirs and assigns, I give and bequeath forever, my pre-emption right to a half quarter section of Land, which I bought of James Hutchinson & which is situate upon the matice,—also my half quarter section of Land near Wolf's, and my fractional quarter section of Land adjoining the Home tract, all of which Lands are in the county of St. Louis aforesaid, and shall be equally divided between my said two sons—To my son William Arbuckle Jones, & to his Heirs and assigns, I give and bequeath forever, my Home Tract, being one quarter section—Lastly—All my slaves and their future increase, (except a negro girl, for the use of Rowena, & the Boy Jerry), shall be equally divided amongst my surviving children, or the Heirs of their bodies,—provided nevertheless, that my Daughters shall be entitled to one slave each, more than my sons.—Thirdly—It is my will and pleasure that my step-daughter Rowena Robinson, shall have the use and benefit of one negro girl, during her life, and that the said

These four men were part of those adventurers who forged their way through the wilderness, into the West and to the Pacific Coast. Their success encouraged others to travel there, gave the spur to civilization, and the western boundary to the United States. They were of Anglo-Saxon origin, with that spirit of adventure and travel peculiar to the race. Whatever credit may be due to the employers and leaders, these men blazed the trail and made a story of human endurance worthy of any age. Coming from different states of the Union they joined a common enterprise, and were stimulated by an impulse common to all. The study of their lives calls to mind the homogeneous character of the American people in the early years of the Republic.

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negro girl, at the death of the said Rowena, if she shall so long live, become the absolute property of that member of my Family, with whom said Rowena may have resided.—Fourthly—It is my will and pleasure, that my step-daughter Maria Macky, shall have and possess, for her sole use and benefit, during her life, my slave Jerry, and after the death of the said Maria, that the said slave shall become the absolute property of Jane Kirker, (the daughter of the said Maria), and her Heirs, should she survive her mother. Fifthly—It is my will and pleasure, that none of the slaves bequeathed as hereinbefore mentioned, shall ever be sold, by my children or their Heirs, under any pretence whatever,—and that if any of my children (namely Elvira Jones, Melinda Jones, Ramsey Crooks Jones, Wilson Hunt Jones & William Arbuckle Jones), should die without issue, that, in that case their portion of slaves, shall be equally divided amongst the surviving children, or their Heirs. Finally—I do hereby nominate and appoint my wife, Margaret Jones, sole executrix of this my last will and Testament—and I further declare, that it is my will that my said executrix shall pay all my just debts, & perfect the titles to my Lands, and that she shall educate my minor children in a becoming manner, according to her best judgment—and, for the better enabling her to do these things, all my personal estate, other than my slaves, together with the entire proceeds and profits of my estate (after my decease), are hereby placed at her sole & absolute disposal, without any kind of accountability therefor.—

In testimony whereof, I the said Benjamin Jones, hereto set my hand & seal, at my residence, in the county of St. Louis aforesaid, this second day of June, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-five —1835. (Signed) BENJAMIN JONES.

Note—Rowena may reside with her sister, Maria, if she should choose to do so.

The foregoing last will and Testament was read in the presence of the Testator Benjamin Jones and was subscribed & sealed by him in the presence of each of us—the attestation of each of us being also made in the presence of each other. Attest—

JEROMO B. GREER
FRANZ ROTHENBUCHER
WM. CARR LANE.

THE OCCASION OF THE UNVEILING OF THE MEMORIAL STONE ON THE GRAVE OF PETER SKENE OGDEN

On Sunday afternoon, October 28, the memory of Peter Skene Ogden, one of Oregon's most distinquished pioneers and Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, was honored, when a memorial stone in his memory was unveiled with impressive ceremonies in Mountain View Cemetery at Oregon City.

For nearly seventy years the last resting place of this man who rescued the survivors of the Whitman massacre in November, 1847, was forgotten and almost unknown. On this bright day in October, three of the survivors of that massacre were present to do him honor. Mrs. O. N. Denny, 86 years of age, performed the act of unveiling and sitting near her were Mrs. N. A. Jacobs, formerly Nancy Osborn, and Mrs. E. M. Helm, formerly Elizabeth Sager, two other survivors. Mrs. Denny was formerly Gertrude Jane Hall and was 10 years old at the time of the massacre.

Frederick V. Holman, President of the Oregon State Historical Society, presided, and in an address presented the lineage and historic services of Chief Factor Ogden. Bishop Sumner of the Episcopal Diocese of Oregon offered a prayer for the repose of the pioneer and the perpetuation of the lesson of his life.

The dedicatory address was delivered by T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, one of the Directors of the Oregon Historical Society.

J. T. Chitwood, President of the Oregon Pioneer Association and Mrs. Albert M. Brown, President of the Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers, paid tribute to the dead in behalf of their societies.

Monsignor Hildebrand, Rector of the St. John Catholic church of Oregon City, in a brief address called attention to the fact that there is no public monument to

the memory of that other distinguished pioneer, Dr. John McLoughlin, and urged that the monument now proposed to be erected by Dr. Coe, should be placed in Oregon City in front of the McLoughlin home, where he lived and died.

Miss Stella M. Drumm, Secretary of the Missouri Historical Society, was present and made a few remarks.

Among the large number of spectators and guests who were silent witnesses of the unveiling ceremony, special mention should be made of relatives of Peter Skene Ogden. Mrs. Thomas Draper, granddaughter, and her husband and Harry Draper, who is a great-grandson of Ogden; Mrs. Lulu D. Crandall of The Dalles and a group of D. A. R. ladies who came all the way to attend this unveiling. Mrs. Crandall is a prominent member of The Dalles Historical Society and has made a notable contribution to Oregon history in her "Old Oregon Pageant of Wascopam."

Mrs. Esther Allen Jobes of Portland placed a laurel wreath on Ogden's grave in behalf of the Society of 1812. Other floral tributes were a wreath of roses from the Oregon Historical Society, a laurel wreath from the Woman's Club of Oregon City, and a bouquet of roses from women of Portland.

Officers and members of the Portland D. A. R. were there, as well as members of the Oregon Historical Society: F. G. Young, Secretary; G. H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator, who assisted in the unveiling; Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, whose story of Ogden in her "McLoughlin and Old Oregon" has done so much to give due honor to the pioneer; also many other visitors.

The marker was erected on the grave by three societies—the Oregon Historical Society, the Oregon Pioneer Association and the Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers.

On the granite are these words: "Peter Skene Ogden. 1794-1854. Born at Quebec. Died at Oregon City. Fur trader and explorer in Old Oregon. Arrived Columbia

river 1818. Clerk of NorthWest company. Chief Factor Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver. Rescued survivors of Whitman massacre, 1847."

HENRY L. BATES.

ADDRESS BY FREDERICK V. HOLMAN

President, OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the Unveiling of the Memorial Stone to Peter Skene Ogden, at Mountain View Cemetery, Oregon City, Oregon, October 28, 1923

Members of Oregon Historical Society, of Oregon Pioneer Association, of Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers, and other Oregon pioneers and their descendants present, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have gathered here today to honor the life and memory of a man, who is endeared to the early Oregon pioneers and their descendants—a British subject, who heeded the call of humanity and responded to the impulses of his heart, in rescuing American captive women, children, and men, not of his nation, held by murderous Indians after the Whitman massacre, begun November 29, 1847.

There are some persons living in Oregon, who are not familiar with the events of early Oregon history, and why Peter Skene Ogden and his memory are held in such high esteem by the Oregon pioneers and their descendants. All Oregonians should know the history of their state, and particularly the early, the heroic, part of Oregon's history.

While Astoria is the first place in Oregon of American occupation, for it was founded by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company in 1811, still Oregon City was the headquarters of the early Oregon immigrants, Oregon's earliest capital, and where Dr. John McLoughlin suf-

fered martyrdom, where he lived the last few years of his life, where he died, where he was buried, and where his body still lies at rest and at peace. Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon, stands foremost in Oregon's pioneer era, in his humanity, and as its greatest citizen. Prior to the formation of the Oregon Provisional Government, Dr. McLoughlin practically exercised control over all the Oregon Country. He did not interfere with the rights of white people and their families, not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, but he assisted and protected them.

Dr. McLoughlin was born October 19, 1784, in Parish LaRiviere du Loup, Canada, about one hundred twenty miles below Quebec, on the south side of the St. Lawrence River. He died at Oregon City, Oregon, September 3, 1857. His greatest acts and the exercise of his greatest humanity were while he was a British subject and a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country. His headquarters were at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River. He resigned as Chief Factor in 1845. Under the rules of the company, his resignation became effective in 1846. He moved to Oregon City in the Spring of 1846, and he resided there until his death.

The other great Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, for whom Oregon has great affection, was also a Canadian, and lived and died a British subject. He was Peter Skene Ogden, who also passed the last few months of his life at or near Oregon City, on the donation land claim of his son-in-law, Archibald McKinlay, at a dwelling house, erected by Peter Skene Ogden, called "The Cliffs." Here he died September 27, 1854. His body lies in Mountain View Cemetery, where we are now today to unveil and to dedicate this beautiful memorial stone of imperishable Winsboro gray granite, to him and to his memory, with the loving hearts and the strong affections of the members of the Oregon Historical Society, the Pioneer Association of Oregon, the Sons and

Daughters of Oregon Pioneers, and of other Oregon pioneers and their descendants.

Oregon City is thus greatly favored and has become the Mecca of Oregon pioneers and their descendants, and this will continue until the end of time.

Let me give you a brief summary of the life of Peter Skene Ogden.

His father was Isaac Ogden, a distinguished lawyer, living in New Jersey at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War. He was a loyalist and a man of sterling integrity and honor and of great moral worth. It was his right to adhere to the doctrine that the English king should rule over the American Colonies. It was a question of conscience with him. But his position was unpleasant, surrounded as he was by those who upheld the American Revolutionary War.

Isaac Ogden's father was Judge David Ogden, a graduate of Yale College of the class of 1728. David Ogden was a prominent lawyer, living at Newark, New Jersey.

In 1783 Isaac Ogden abandoned his property in New Jersey and went to England. In 1788 he was appointed by King George III Judge of Admiralty at Quebec, and he went there to live. In 1794 he was appointed one of the Puisne Judges of the District of Montreal. He, at once, removed with his family to Montreal, Canada.

Peter Skene Ogden was born in Quebec, in 1794, the exact date apparently cannot be ascertained. He died at Oregon City, Oregon, September 27, 1854. His mother's maiden name was Sarah Hanson. She was a sister of John Wilkinson Hanson, a captain in the British Army.

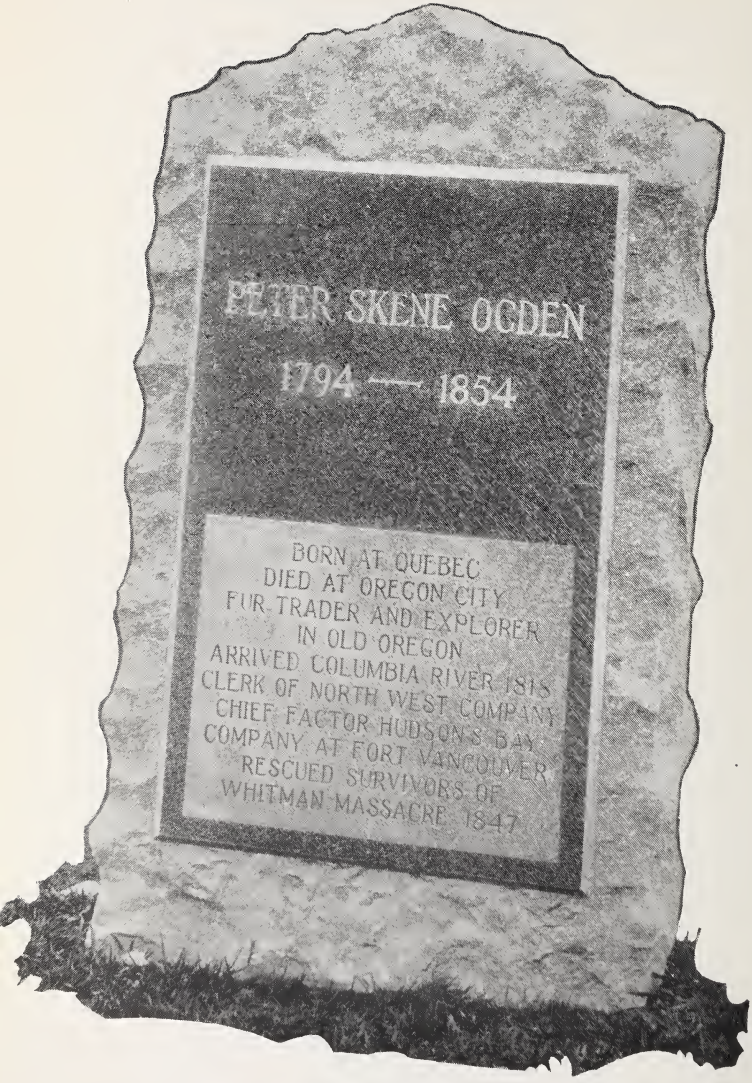
The name "Ogden" is of Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, and Old English origin. It is derived from the Saxon or Old English word "Oke," meaning "Oak," and the Anglo-Saxon word "Denn," meaning a sunken or wooded vale, glen, or dale. It was sometimes written "dean" or "dene." Its English equivalent is the word "den." When surnames were adopted in England, undoubtedly Peter Skene

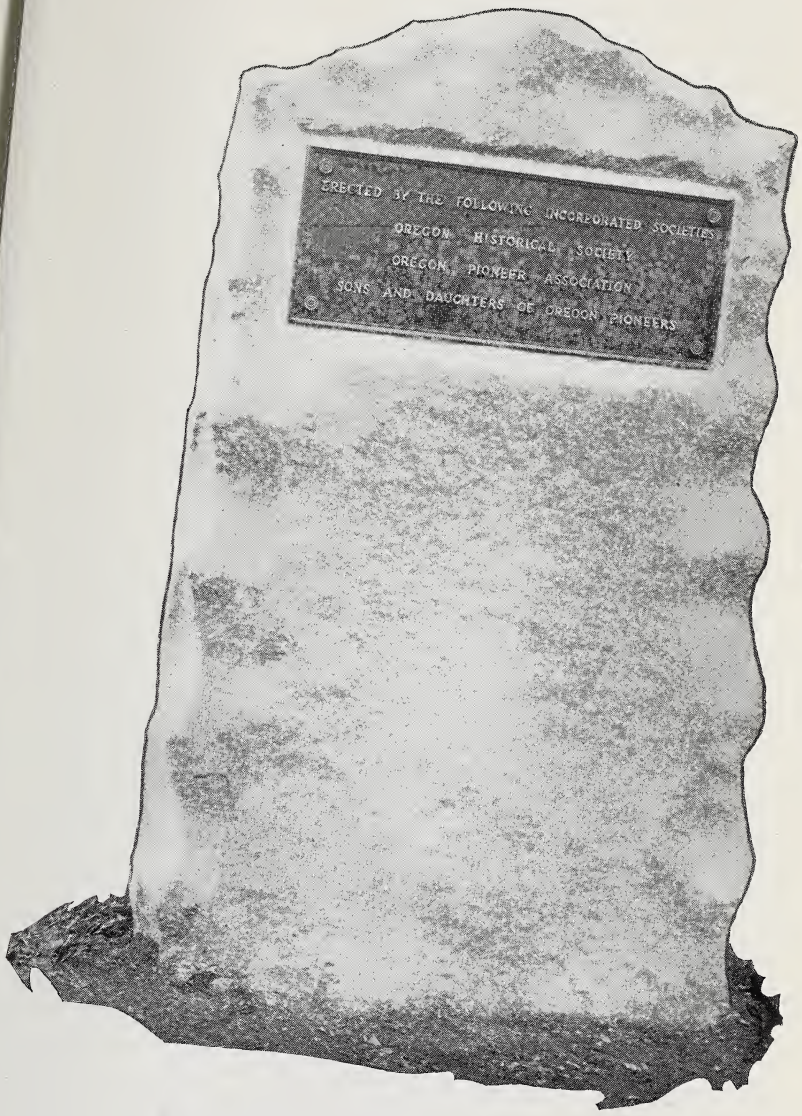
Ogden's ancestor took the name "Okeden" or "Okedean," meaning a man who lived in a sunken vale, glen, or dale in which oak trees grew. In course of time the spelling of the name was changed to "Ogden." One of Peter Skene Ogden's ancestors, John Ogden, settled in this country about the year 1642. The Ogden family is of high class in England, in Canada, and in the United States.

So Peter Skene Ogden, by a long line of ancestors from Saxon times, inherited the Anglo-Saxon instincts and traditions and was guided by them. Among these instincts and traditions are the rights of life, of liberty, of property, and the pursuit of happiness. His was an heredity of the highest type, and he showed his quality at all times, especially in the rescue of the survivors of the Whitman massacre. He was aristocratic in his birth and breeding, but he was democratic in his feelings and actions.

Undoubtedly Judge Isaac Ogden desired that his son, Peter Skene Ogden, should be a lawyer, as his grandfather and father had been not only distinguished lawyers but also judges. In fact, before he was seventeen years old, Peter Skene Ogden began the study of law. But a large part of Canada was then being exploited by the old, the original, Hudson's Bay Company, and by another fur trading company known as the NorthWest Company, organized in Montreal, which had its headquarters at Fort Williams, on the north shore of Lake Superior. Prior to 1821 there was great rivalry between these two fur trading companies, resulting in practical warfare between them. In 1821, by an Act of the British Parliament, these two companies merged and became known as the Hudson's Bay Company, and its jurisdiction extended from Hudson's Bay on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west.

The stirring events in the early part of the Nineteenth Century, the lives of those engaged in the fur trade, with


PETER SKENE OGDEN
1794 —— 1854
BORN AT QUEBEC
DIED AT OREGON CITY
FUR TRADER AND EXPLORER
IN OLD OREGON
ARRIVED COLUMBIA RIVER 1815
CLERK OF NORTH WEST COMPANY
CHIEF FACTOR HUDSON'S BAY
COMPANY AT FORT VANCOUVER
RESCUED SURVIVORS OF
WHITMAN MASSACRE 1847


ERECTED BY THE FOLLOWING INCORPORATED SOCIETIES
OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OREGON PIONEER ASSOCIATION
SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF OREGON PIONEERS

its adventures and romances, greatly impressed young Peter Skene Ogden. He felt the call of the wild, and in 1811, when he was about seventeen years of age, he entered the service of The NorthWest Company as a clerk. In 1818 he came to Oregon as an employe of the North-West Company, whose headquarters, in the Oregon Country were at Fort George, now Astoria. After 1821, on the consolidation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the NorthWest Company, he cast his fortunes with the new Hudson's Bay Company, and in course of time he became a Chief Factor of that company. A Chief Factor is the highest position in that company, next to that of a Director of the company.

Dr. John McLoughlin came to Oregon in 1824, as Chief Factor of the new Hudson's Bay Company, and, in 1825, moved its headquarters from Fort George to Fort Vancouver, where Vancouver barracks now are. He had charge of all of the country west of the Rocky Mountains to the Arctic Ocean, over which the new Hudson's Bay Company exercised jurisdiction.

Peter Skene Ogden was an intrepid explorer and fur trader. He had charge of parties of the Hudson's Bay Company who traded and trapped for furs along the Snake River, in Eastern Oregon, and parts of what are now the states of Washington, Idaho, California, Nevada, and Utah. He discovered and named Mount Shasta, in Northern California. He discovered and explored many rivers, streams, and places. The city of Ogden and Ogden River, in Utah, are named in his honor. He took a party to the shores of Great Salt Lake and to the Gulf of California. He and his parties suffered many hardships; they were frequently short of food; and sometimes faced actual starvation. But Ogden was resourceful and saved his parties.

He was accustomed to look danger in the eye and not be afraid. He was a manly man—and all that means—and he was a born leader. As his hair grew white, the

Indians respectfully called him, in their languages, "Old Whitehead."

In 1835 Peter Skene Ogden was made a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and was assigned to the command of New Caledonia, with headquarters at Fort St. James, on Stuart Lake. This post had jurisdiction over all streams drained by the Fraser River. New Caledonia is now a part of British Columbia.

In the Spring of 1844 Ogden crossed the Rocky Mountains on his way to England to enjoy a well-deserved one year's leave of absence. In 1845 he made Fort Vancouver his headquarters as Chief Factor, with James Douglas (afterwards Sir James Douglas and Governor of British Columbia), also a Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver.

It is said that Ogden and Douglas did not agree in some things. Be that as it may, Ogden spent a large part of his time as the head of fur-gathering parties of the Hudson's Bay Company until the transfer of Douglas to British Columbia in 1849. But Ogden was at Fort Vancouver in December, 1847, when the news of the Whitman massacre reached Fort Vancouver. At that time Ogden was known all over the original Oregon Country, by the Indians as well as by the white people, and had their respect and esteem.

If Peter Skene Ogden was not a member of the Established Church of England, he was baptized in that church and he affiliated with that church, which is the English Episcopal Church. His parents were devout members of that church. His funeral and burial services were conducted by Rev. St. Michael Fackler, then Rector of the Episcopal Church at Oregon City. Rev. Mr. Fackler has long since gone to his reward.

I have given only a brief summary of the life of Peter Skene Ogden prior to the events immediately succeeding the Whitman massacre in 1847. What I have told you of Peter Skene Ogden shows him to have been a man of

birth and breeding. He was straightforward, intrepid, untiring, and devoted to the performance of his duties and obligations. These facts entitle him to the respect of all Oregon pioneers and their descendants. But there is more, which I shall now tell you, that explains our presence here today, and why the Oregon pioneers and their descendants wish to honor him and his memory, and why they have erected this memorial stone, so that his grave will be identified, and we will show, in a measure, our appreciation of his brave and humanitarian actions in rescuing, in December, 1847, the survivors of the Whitman massacre.

The Boundary Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, settling the boundary line of the Oregon Country west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, was made June 15, 1846. It was proclaimed as being in force by James K. Polk, President of the United States, August 5, 1846.

By this Boundary Treaty the Hudson's Bay Company was given certain rights south of the boundary line, and the right to navigate the Columbia River south of the boundary line. But the effect was, that whereas, prior to the Boundary Treaty, the Hudson's Bay Company was not subject to import duties on its goods, it became liable to pay duties after the Treaty was made. The Hudson's Bay Company continued its posts in Oregon until some time after the Whitman massacre, in November, 1847.

It should be borne in mind that many of the American settlers and immigrants in Oregon were somewhat hostile to the Hudson's Bay Company. It was a British corporation, whose chief business was collecting furs to be shipped to England. For many years it had had a practical monopoly in the Oregon Country in buying furs, selling goods, buying wheat, making flour and lumber and largely controlling the activities of the country. It was this hostility which caused the Methodist missionaries to bring, on the *Lausanne*, in 1840, machinery for

flour mills and lumber mills and a stock of goods for sale. It was this hostility which helped to form the Oregon Provisional Government in 1843. The Hudson's Bay Company did not wish lands settled where it obtained its furs. It endeavored to induce the American immigrants to settle in the Willamette Valley, because it believed that the Willamette Valley would ultimately belong to the United States. The American immigrants were impatient, under such restraint. They tried to settle on the lands of the company near Fort Vancouver, and they made settlements on Puget Sound. The large number of American immigrants coming to Oregon from 1843 to 1847, inclusive, intensified this hostility to the Hudson's Bay Company. Under the circumstances, the actions of Peter Skene Ogden in rescuing the survivors of the Whitman massacre in 1847, stand out in all the stronger light. His memory shall be ever dear to Oregon pioneers and their descendants.

The Oregon Provisional Government continued until March 3, 1849, when, by proclamation, Governor Joseph Lane, the first Governor of Oregon Territory, declared the Oregon Territorial Government in force, south of the boundary line.

The United States was slow in asserting its rights over Oregon. There were no United States troops in Oregon prior to the Spring of 1849. Two companies of United States artillery, from Honolulu, arrived at Fort Vancouver May 14, 1849. They came on the United States steam transport *Massachusetts*. A regiment of United States mounted riflemen arrived in Oregon in October, 1849. These troops arrived after the Cayuse War was over. The Cayuse War was fought by volunteer American pioneers of the Willamette Valley.

The Whitman massacre began November 29, 1847, and continued several days thereafter.

Dr. Marcus Whitman had established his mission at Waiilatpu, near the present city of Walla Walla. He had

erected a crude flour mill, and he cultivated land near his mission. He was a brave man, who showed his quality by living at his mission after threats by the Indians, and after he was warned by Dr. McLoughlin of danger from the Indians. Dr. McLoughlin knew the Indians and their character better than any other man who ever lived in the Oregon Country.

Dr. Whitman also showed his bravery by his long winter trip with Amos L. Lovejoy, in 1842, to prevent the discontinuance of the Whitman mission and other missions connected with it. He and his wife had taken under their care orphans and other children. He deserves great credit as a brave, pioneer missionary in Oregon's early days. His fame has been lessened by false declarations, made after his death, by some of his associates and by others who have sought notoriety and a kind of reflected glory by asserting that Whitman saved Oregon, and that his ride East in 1842 was for that purpose. But these assertions are false and made by foolish friends. Dr. Whitman made no such claim. His supposed friends have tarnished his reputation by these false assertions.

It is not necessary to go into details as to the cause of the massacre. It came about through several causes. Early Oregon immigrants, including the immigration of 1847, brought with them certain diseases which became epidemic with the Indian tribes. Notably the measles was the cause of the death of a great many Indians, who sought to cure this disease by the use of sweat-holes and then plunging into cold water, which almost necessarily was the cause of their deaths. The Indians held their medicine men to strict accountability for failure to cure diseases, and they looked upon Dr. Whitman as a white medicine man. It was asserted that Dr. Whitman poisoned these Indians who died from their own foolish actions.

In addition, they were largely influenced by the lies and machinations of Joe Lewis, a half-breed Indian, and

also of an Indian half-breed named Tom Hill. It was also feared by the Indians that their lands would be taken from them by the American immigrants, as a large number of pioneers came as immigrants from 1843 to 1847.

Also, there was the murder of Elijah, the son of Peo-Peo-Mox-Mox, a chief of the Walla Wallas. Elijah was murdered in California, where he went with a party of Indians. The old idea prevailed among the Indians of "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." Murder should be avenged by a killing, even if the victims of the killing were innocent.

As this occasion is in honor of Peter Skene Ogden, I have mentioned only incidentally the causes of the Whitman massacre.

I shall not go into the gruesome details of the massacre. It is sufficient to say that Dr. Marcus Whitman and his wife, and eleven other white men, were killed. About forty-three white women and children and seven white men of sixteen years and over were taken captives by the Indians at the time of the massacre.

As I have said, this massacre began November 29, 1847. Late in the evening, December 6, 1847, a French-Canadian messenger arrived at Fort Vancouver by canoe from Fort Walla Walla, on the Columbia River, bringing a letter from McBean, in charge of the Hudson's Bay post, Fort Walla Walla, telling of the massacre. Ogden was first informed, and immediately went into consultation with Douglas.

A serious problem was presented. It might mean a general Indian uprising, which, of course, might be fatal to the Hudson's Bay Company's forts, posts, officers, and employes in Oregon. The Whitman mission was an American settlement. The pioneers of the Willamette Valley would doubtless seek revenge, as they did. If so, they would call on the Hudson's Bay Company for arms, ammunition, and supplies. There were no United States troops then in Oregon. The Government of the United

States had done nothing for Oregon after the Boundary Treaty went into effect.

But it was a case where blood was thicker than water. It was a case where the humanity, exercised by Dr. McLoughlin, prevailed. It did not matter that these captives were Americans. There were men, but above all, there were women and children whose lives were in peril.

The next morning, before the news reached Oregon City, Peter Skene Ogden was on his way to Fort Walla Walla with two bateaux, manned only by the usual number of company voyageurs, and without any display of arms. It took Ogden a number of days to make the journey to Fort Walla Walla. He proceeded as on ordinary business and paid the customary toll of powder and ball at The Dalles portage. On his arrival at Fort Walla Walla messengers were sent to chiefs of the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Perces, that "Old Whitehead" wished to see them. It was an invitation which could not be declined. It was a command rather than an invitation. These chiefs doubtless recalled that Dr. McLoughlin had announced that any murder of an American or a British subject meant death to the perpetrator. Dr. McLoughlin hung several Indians for murders of white persons. It may be that he had no jurisdiction to do this. But he exercised it. There were no courts in Oregon to grant writs of *habeas corpus* in those days. Dr. McLoughlin never forgot a promise nor a threat. He kept his word.

So these Indian chiefs came. Ogden, the "Old Whitehead," went to the council alone. He was unafraid. He spoke to the chiefs in their own language. I cannot here give his exact words, but he said in effect: "The Hudson's Bay Company has been with you for more than thirty years without bloodshed. We are traders, and of a different nation than the Americans. But we are of the same color, speak the same language, and worship the same God. Their cruel fate causes our hearts to

bleed. Besides this massacre, you have robbed the Americans passing through your country, and you have insulted their women. We have made you chiefs, but you say you cannot control your young men. They are cowards, and you are responsible for their deeds. If the Americans begin war you will have cause for regret, for you will be exterminated. I know that many Indians have died; so have white people. Dr. Whitman did not poison those Indians who died. You now have the opportunity to make some reparation. I advise you, but I promise you nothing, should war be declared against you. The Hudson's Bay Company has nothing to do with your actions in this trouble. Deliver to me these captives and I will give you a ransom."

Tiloukaikt, a Cayuse chief, replied: "Your words are weighty. Your hairs are gray. We have known you a long time. You have had an unpleasant journey to this place. I cannot therefore keep the captives back. I make them over to you, which I would not do to another younger than yourself."

This reference to the advanced age and to the white hairs of Ogden may have been intended to be complimentary, but it was puerile. Ogden was a man of such force of character and of such intrepidity that if he had been younger he would probably have acted more in accordance with his well-known reputation, and not made so diplomatic a speech to the Indians. He was not afraid; he was determined that these captives should be delivered to him without delay, before the Indians should harm or murder them or hold them as hostages to keep back the settlers from the Willamette Valley. These captives were enslaved, and many of them had been cruelly treated by their captors and threatened with death. Some of them had been insulted and outraged by the Indians. Several of the young white women, by force and by threats, were taken as wives by Indians.

For many hours Ogden argued and reasoned with

these Indians before all of them would agree to deliver up these captives. But at last he was successful. His stern will, determination, and courage won out. The Indians understood the man who was opposing them, that he had come to rescue these captives, and that he would not be denied.

Within a few days thereafter all the captives were surrendered to Ogden at Fort Walla Walla. He then delivered to the Indians blankets, guns, ammunition, tobacco, and other articles as a ransom. The party, consisting of the captives and several white refugees from other Protestant missions, headed by Ogden, without delay left Fort Walla Walla for Oregon City by water. It was none too soon, for information came to the Cayuses that some of the Oregon volunteers from the Willamette Valley had arrived at The Dalles, and the Cayuses War was practically begun. These captives and refugees were speedily brought to Fort Vancouver and the next day were delivered at Oregon City, amid great rejoicing. The captives were speedily taken care of by pioneer families at Oregon City and in the Willamette Valley. Governor Abernethy wrote an official letter of thanks to Ogden for rescuing these captives.

Three of these survivors are now present. They are: Mrs. O. N. Denny (Gertrude Jane Hall), who unveiled this memorial stone today; Mrs. William F. Helm (Elizabeth M. Sager); Mrs. William Wallace Jacobs (Nancy Annie Osborn). They were small children then. They are old ladies now. They are still hale and possessed of their mental and physical faculties. They have lived useful and noble lives. I know that in their heart of hearts they have not forgotten. They remember and they are duly grateful to Peter Skene Ogden.

The other living survivors of those captives and their residences are as follows: Oscar Canfield, Lewiston, Idaho; Mrs. Copley (Mary Ann Saunders), Riverside, California; Mrs. Delany (Matilda J. Sager), Eugene,

Oregon; Mrs. Hughes (Nancy J. Saunders), Oakland, California; Mrs. Megler (Nimee A. Kimball), Astoria, Oregon.

For the information of those not familiar with early Oregon history, I shall say:

That the Oregon volunteers did not capture the leading participants in the Whitman massacre. Governor Joseph Lane, the first Governor of Oregon, March 3, 1849, proclaimed the establishment of Oregon Territory. Governor Lane began negotiations with the Cayuse Indians for the surrender of those guilty of the Whitman massacre. Until such surrender, the United States Government would not treat with the Cayuses, nor permit them to occupy their lands. At length word was received that such of the Whitman murderers as were alive, would be surrendered at The Dalles. Governor Lane went there in person, escorted by Lieutenant Addison and ten soldiers. Five of the murderers, with other Indians, were at The Dalles. They were Tiloukaikt, Tamahas, Klokamas, Isaiachalakis, and Kiamasumpkin. They consented to go to Oregon City to be tried. These five Indians were taken to Oregon City, guarded by the soldiers. They were confined on Abernethy Island, a small island, which is surrounded by deep water. The bridge from the island to the mainland was closely guarded by United States soldiers.

The trial of these murderers began at Oregon City May 22, 1850, before Judge O. C. Pratt, an Associate Justice of the Oregon Territorial Supreme Court, and a jury. The prosecution was conducted by Amory Holbrook, United States District Attorney. Judge Pratt appointed as counsel for the defense, Knitzing Pritchett, Secretary of the Territory, R. B. Reynolds, Paymaster of the United States rifle regiment, and Captain Claiborne, of the same regiment. The counsel for the defense raised all questions for the defense of the murderers. They raised and argued the question of the jurisdiction of the Court

to try the murderers, on the ground that the United States had not extended its laws over Oregon at the time of the Whitman massacre. But Judge Pratt decided that the Court had jurisdiction under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1834, regulating Indian tribes. If Judge Pratt had not ruled in favor of his jurisdiction, I fear that Judge Lynch would have exercised jurisdiction and these murderers would have paid the penalty, for about five hundred Oregon pioneers came to Oregon City to see that these Indians did not escape justice for the Whitman massacre. These murderers had a fair and impartial trial. They were ably defended in court. The jury found them guilty. Judge Pratt sentenced them to be hung, at Oregon City, June 3, 1850. On that day they were hung by Joseph L. Meek, United States Marshal for Oregon Territory. Meek was a fearless man and was not afraid to perform what he thought was his duty. His daughter, Helen Marr Meek, was one of the captives taken by the Indians at Waiilatpu. She died soon after the Whitman massacre. I doubt not that Meek hung these murderers as a stern and disagreeable duty, but at the same time a kind of pleasurable duty.

It was rumored that a rescue of the prisoners would be attempted by the Indians. But such an attempted rescue would have been unfortunate for the rescuers as well as for the prisoners, for several hundred pioneers came to Oregon City, with their rifles, hid at convenient places, to see that no rescue was made, and that these convicted Indians should die on the scaffold for their crimes. No rescue was attempted and justice was done to these murderers.

This memorial stone, erected by Oregon's three pioneer societies, shows that the Oregon pioneers and their descendants in seventy-six years have not forgotten, and that sixty-nine years after the death of Peter Skene Ogden, they have remembered and appreciate the bravery

and humanity of Peter Skene Ogden. In honoring Peter Skene Ogden and his memory they honor themselves.

It is to be greatly regretted that for many years the grave of this great benefactor has not been marked, even by a tombstone.

Here will come Oregon pioneers and their descendants through all coming times, and with loving hearts tell their children and their children's children of Peter Skene Ogden, and of his rescue of the unfortunate captives of the Whitman massacre, although of another nation.

Notwithstanding the American Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the threat of war over the division of the original Oregon Country, the trouble over the San Juan Archipeligo, and the Alaska boundary, the Alabama claims, and other irritating causes and troubles between the United States and Great Britain, and the differences in the forms of government of these two countries, we are in reality one great family, actuated by the same or similar instincts, traditions, and motives.

Seventy-six years ago Peter Skene Ogden, a British subject and a high officer of a great British corporation, rescued these American captives because, not only of his duty as a humanitarian, but because these captives and the overwhelming majority of the pioneers then in Oregon were of the same color, spoke the same language and worshipped the same God. They were of his race, and therefore should be rescued and protected. Peter Skene Ogden was their savior. It is events, such as this, that have assisted to make the English-speaking peoples united in feelings and in hopes. This monument is a mile-stone on the road to Anglo-Saxon unity and to Anglo-Saxon world harmony and peace. May it ever be such a mile-stone!

And now I have the honor to dedicate this memorial stone to Peter Skene Ogden and to his memory forever.

May his memory be cherished until time shall be no more.*

DEDICATORY ADDRESS BY T. C. ELLIOTT

Nearly seventy years have passed since the mortal remains of Peter Skene Ogden were laid away beneath the sod upon which we now stand. At the time of his death he was sixty years of age, and had been closely associated with the history of Oregon almost from the beginning of its actual occupation by English-speaking people. With humility of conscience and sadness of thought because of our long neglect, we are gathered today to dedicate a monument, which now has been officially erected over his previously unmarked grave.

The crowning glory of woman is motherhood. The crowning glory of man, in the finest analysis, is loyalty to country and respect for woman; love to a mother, and love and protection to wife and children. It is known to many that Peter Skene Ogden was an indefatigable explorer of unknown parts of the Old Oregon Country, and an active trader for furs in all the wide expanse of territory from Great Salt Lake to the Fraser River, from the Sacramento to Southern Alaska, and on the headwaters of the Columbia and Missouri Rivers. It is known that he was a trusted official of the NorthWest Company, and then of the powerful Hudson's Bay Company in their business in all parts of the basin of the Columbia River, and that he had the widest acquaintance with the events and the people, both Indian and white, of this Pacific Northwest from 1818 to 1854. It is known that he was an intelligent observer and narrator, a linguist who con-

*Those wishing to know more of the life of Peter Skene Ogden are referred to an article written by Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, Washington, one of the Directors of Oregon Historical Society, entitled "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," published in Volume XI, No. 3, September, 1910, of The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society.—EDITOR OF THE QUARTERLY.

versed with ease in three different languages and several Indian dialects, a delightful companion and reconteur, and the author of one item in our literature. It is known that he was a careful and honest administrator of affairs, the associate of Dr. John McLoughlin and James Douglas in their residence and management at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, and the Chief Factor in control there during the important period of the arrival of the United States customs and army officers after the Treaty of 1846. It is more widely known that he was the one man in Oregon that last month of the year 1847 who was fitted to deal personally with the Cayuse Indians and rescue the forty or more women and children who were held in captivity after the massacre at the Whitman mission near Walla Walla. But of that highest attribute, the intimate relationship of son, husband and father, of that it is more appropriate to briefly speak on this occasion.

In 1852 Peter Skene Ogden was visiting in the East, on leave from duties at Fort Vancouver, and with a possibility of permanent retirement. He was then a man of property, of the age of fifty-eight; but constant exposures during an active career in the field had whitened the hairs of his head and brought on some of the infirmities of years. Had he followed the inclinations of others, and the probable desires of relatives, he would have settled down to a life of ease in the society of congenial and well-to-do people in Montreal, or elsewhere in Lower Canada. For Peter Skene Ogden's mother was a patrician, from a family of wealth near New York City. His father was, at the time of marriage, a well known attorney in the present city of Newark, New Jersey. With the evacuation of New York by General Howe during the American Revolution the family departed to England, but later returned to Canada as Union Empire Loyalists, under appointment of Mr. Ogden as a Judge on the King's Bench. In Canada, both in Quebec and Montreal, the

Ogden family occupied an honored place in society and in church circles. One of his brothers was a prominent attorney, another an officer in the British Army, and a married sister resided in Montreal, where it was not uncommon for retired officers of the Hudson's Bay Company to reside. Not so, however, with Peter Skene Ogden, as is clear from the following letter, which has been copied from the original:

LaChine (Canada), Oct'r 18th, 1852

My dear Daughter:—

I was indeed truly glad to receive a letter from you, and dear little Janette's kiss which you must mean for me; the tidings you report of all being in health, the Old Lady and all the children, was indeed good news for me. At present I shall not write you a long letter but merely say I am truly anxious to see you all again and hope to be with you before next spring. * * * * * You say in your letter I will find warm hearts ready to receive me, in you particularly. My Dear Daughter, I never doubted it, and you are indeed often the subject of my thoughts. Now do not for a moment suppose that your father will ever forget you; if it has entered banish such an idea from your mind; but I do not think you ever formed such an opinion of me. * * * * *

Now, my dear daughter, may God bless you and all your children, and your mother and children. Ever your affectionate Father, PETER SKENE OGDEN.

The daughter, to whom this letter was addressed, was Sarah Jane McKinlay, wife of Archibald McKinlay of Hudson's Bay Company employ, who owned a land claim on the outskirts of Oregon City. This daughter was named after Peter Skene Ogden's mother, Sarah Hanson, of Livingstone Manor, New York. The mother of this daughter was a native of the Flathead tribe of Montana, who had been a faithful wife to Peter Skene Ogden during more than thirty years, and had accompanied him on long and perilous expeditions into the Indian country, and had, on one occasion, rescued him from drowning. Mrs. Ogden was then residing in a house called "The

Cliffs," on the McKinlay homestead close to that of her daughter, and it was there Peter Skene Ogden spent the last few months of his life, an invalid, fondly cared for by his wife and daughter. Although the best of medical treatment and attention were open to him at Fort Vancouver, his preference was to die in the companionship of his family, and in this public manner give confirmation of his affection and loyalty to the wife of his active years, but for whom the doors of society in Montreal were not open.

The burial of Peter Skene Ogden was attended with all the respect and honors due to one of his prominence. There was no hearse in Oregon City then, but a spring wagon was especially draped and served to carry his coffin to this spot, where the funeral service was read by Rev. St. Michael Fackler, the first resident Episcopal rector in Oregon. This gentle slope was not then the well kept cemetery of today, but the shining peak of Mt. Hood looked down upon it and served as a monument, and has continued to do so all these years. It is fitting and proper for us to recall the name of this man, and to place it on a granite stone to permanently perpetuate his memory. And beneath it might be inscribed the words FAITHFUL EVEN UNTO DEATH.

ADDRESS OF J. D. CHITWOOD

President, OREGON PIONEER ASSOCIATION

President Holman, of the Oregon Historical Society, Pioneers, Sons and Daughters of Pioneers and Friends:

It has been sixty-nine years since the death of Peter Skene Ogden. Since then there has been a great change in this country. It has become a great state, with unlimited resources. The people have been so absorbed in a business way that they have neglected, in a large degree, to look after the history of the country. However,

through the three organizations represented here today, aided by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the War of 1812, a good deal has been accomplished along the lines suggested, and a number of markers and tablets have been properly placed.

In looking ahead to the future, sixty-nine years is a long time; but in looking back that length of time it seems very short—simply the allotted duration of a man's life.

We have assembled here in this beautiful cemetery on this pleasant day to dedicate a monument to perpetuate the memory of the man who risked his life to rescue the survivors of the Whitman massacre, which occurred on November 29-30, 1847. Of the fifty-two who escaped being massacred, two children of the mission died very soon after the massacre. Of the remaining fifty, eight are yet alive, and three of them are here today to join with us in these dedicatory services in honor of the man who rescued them from a life worse than death.

Nobody except the pioneer can fully realize the conditions existing in this country at the time Mr. Ogden lived here. He went after those pioneers without an army, and was practically alone among a nation of warring Indians to talk to them face to face, and he succeeded in his efforts. It is doubtful if there is any record in the history of any country that will show a greater example of bravery, courage and determination to win than was exhibited by Peter Skene Ogden in the heroism he put forth to rescue these survivors.

Now a word about the history of this state. A young man, a native son of Oregon, who had passed the eighth grade, told me recently that he had never heard of the "Whitman Massacre." If the history of our state was taught in the public schools there would be no cause for such ignorance.

What we say here today will soon be forgotten; but the history written on this monument will last as long

as the stone itself, and be read by future generations who will follow us.

REMARKS OF HARVEY G. STARKWEATHER

It is a significant fact that this splendid audience has gathered here today to honor the memory of a great Oregon pioneer, Peter Skene Ogden.

Such an assemblage speaks of an awakening of interest in the work of the pioneer, of a more just appreciation of the sacrifices of such pioneer characters as Dr. McLoughlin and Peter Skene Ogden.

Others have deplored the fact that the active interest in Oregon history has been confined to a comparatively few of our people, while the great mass of our citizens have gone their way oblivious of the fact that our state has a most interesting and romantic story.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should honor the memory of this great pioneer at this meeting here today, but, borrowing the words of the immortal Lincoln, I might say, the world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it should never forget what they did here.

Through the efforts of the organization of which I at one time had the honor to be President (The Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers), there has been placed in the public schools of this state a course in pioneer history of Oregon so that every boy and girl in our schools may know the thrilling story of our state's early settlement.

Knowing it, they will become more loyal Oregonians, and in becoming better Oregonians they will become better Americans.

Mr. Holman read the following letter from Hon. John E. Bell, His British Majesty's Consul at Portland, Oregon:

"BRITISH CONSULATE
PORTLAND, OREGON

Oct. 27th, 1923.

My dear Mr. Holman,

It is a matter of keen regret to me that I am unable to be present at the dedication of the monument to Peter Skene Ogden, but I greatly appreciate the compliment of having been invited to assist. In the hurry and bustle of modern civilization, one is apt to forget these early pioneers. Modern America has got very far away from the conditions under which they lived, yet it is a seemly thing that we should pause a moment to perpetuate their memory. One cannot but admire the admirable self-sufficiency of men who dared to live alone in the wilderness, and to die alone if necessary.

Such men made the path easy for us. Few modern men and women have such pluck.

Let us then humbly and reverently pay tribute to their memory.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN E. BELL,
H. B. M. Consul.

Mr. F. V. Holman,
Pres. Oregon Historical Soc.,
501, Cham. Com. Bld.,
Portland."

DIARY OF REVEREND GEORGE GARY—IV (CONCLUDED)

Notes by CHARLES HENRY CAREY

Friday, January 1, 1847. A dark gloomy rainy day. Thousands in our native state are in the midst of society; society adapted to their views and interest; but here we are, comparatively without friends; without almost everything that constitutes the innocent gaities of life. No sleigh ride; no rap at the door, by a smiling friend to wish us a Happy New Year, as he enters; but while there are clouds, rain and mud without, we have within our habitation, quietude and are very busy in reading papers from one to two years old. This day I commence the holy bible in course.

Saturday, 2. For a few minutes at a time the sun shines.

Sunday, 3. Congregation rather less than usual, say about thirty hearers. The moral influence of our meetings for the time being seems favorable. Rain. Rain. Rain.

Monday, 4. Raining very steadily. River rising.

Saturday, 9. For two or three days, no rain, sun has shown a part of the time; he shines today, with the brilliancy and warmth of a New York May day.

Mrs. Thornton has visited us for a few days; we think she is a fine, religious lady; a member of the Presbyterian church; hope her influence in this community will be of use; great use.

Sunday, 10. Doctor Locey[1] and his wife join society; he has been a member before, but a profession of religion is new with her. She is baptized in the chapel at the four o'clock service.

Monday, 11. Cold weather, cold for this climate, say ice in still, small pools of water a half an inch thick; the

[1]Dr. Alexander Robert Thompson Locey and Abigail (Howell) Locey came in 1846.

coldest weather we have seen for more than three years.

Tuesday, 12. Very stormy, snow and rain.

Wednesday, 13. Very variable weather, rain, snow and sun shine. The most of the day, however, very stormy.

Thursday, 14. This morning, the surrounding scenery is rather beautiful; snow perhaps two inches deep; the ground is consequently covered with a white mantle; the poor cattle are suffering and dying, many of them, especially which came over the mountains last year, and as yet have not had time to recruit. The want of food and the cold storms are too much for them to endure. This morning I think the coldest morning we have seen for three years. Ice a half inch thick.

Friday, 15. Our snow continues; it is said a little back from this place (Oregon City) the snow is more than a foot deep. The cattle are suffering and dying rapidly, especially those that came over the mountains last year. The wild beasts (wolves and panthers) are hungry and are making considerable havoc among the cattle. Treasures on earth are not very safe, at any rate.

Sunday, 17. A very cold day for this region. The mercury has fallen to about fifteen degrees above zero in the thermometer. Congregation smaller than usual. Two or three inches of snow upon the ground in this place; said to be from one to two feet deep upon the hills back.

Monday, 18. Early this morning the quick silver in the thermometer is at zero. Cold, cold, cold for this land. Jack Frost who is such a stranger in this region, has crept down cellar and laid his stiffening fingers upon some of our potatoes; had we been in the state of New York, we should have been on the look-out for him.

Tuesday, 19. Still cold, snow rather increasing. We should enjoy this weather finely, very finely, were it not for the extreme sufferings of the cattle, and also were the community a little better prepared by warm houses and sufficient clothing for this temperature. This cold

frosty weather suits my health very much indeed, and contributes in no small degree to buoyancy of spirit.

Wednesday, 20. Our winter weather continues though the cold is abating considerably.

Thursday, 21. A very cold rain this day; the poor cattle must suffer much; the rain is so cold, the snow diminishes slowly. We are comfortably provided for, having a warm ceiled room, sufficient fuel, food and clothing, and by the by, time enough to eat, read and sleep; and some how or other, sleep takes a great advantage of us these long, dull stormy nights.

Friday, 22. Through the night, we have had just about as much added to the snow as was lessened by yesterday's rain. I have just inquired of Mr. Vance[2] who lives about two or three miles out of the city about the depth of snow at his place; he says it is about fourteen inches; alas for the poor cattle.

Saturday, 23. It continues cold. Ther. 16 degrees above zero.

Sunday, 24. Still cold. Ther. 14 above zero. Larger congregation, I believe, than usual; quite attentive.

Monday, 25. This morning I receive a confidential letter from Mr. T. stating his convictions of sin, and his purpose to lead a new life. If this is honest, a great sinner is powerfully awakened; we still pray and hope for the best.

Tuesday, 26. Last evening, Mr. T'Vault made me a visit; he came for religious counsel and direction as an awakened sinner. Our interview was long and I trust not in vain. I believe he has formerly hoped universalism would prove true; on this point, he is essentially reformed; he says he has been a great sinner; public opinion will sustain him in this position, as with but little or no doubt, he is, or has been an adulterer, gambler and somewhat of a hard drinker; in our interview, he made frequent allusions to the sermon last Sabbath morning,

[2]Samuel Vance.

text: "Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt have lost his savor," &c. Perhaps it was a word in season, at least so far as he was concerned. If he should reform and be saved, "He will be as a brand plucked from the fire." Our weather is more moderate. Ther. 40.

Wednesday, 27. Small drisseling rain; some of it freezes soon as it falls, so that almost everything out door is covered with sleet. We are enjoying excellent health; very good appetites and are somewhat sumptuously provided for, having a plenty of good potatoes, not frozen, good bread stuffs, chickens of our own raising, and pig pork of our own fattening. While we are feasting and fattening on these good things (for which we should be thankful) we are fasting on the scarce of news, especially from the states. Oh, how long will this famine continue?

Thursday, 28. Our weather continues moderate, so our snow is gradually wasting away. At prayer meeting this evening, Mr. T'Vault is with us, with the appearance of great seriousness.

Friday, 29. Continues warm. Take tea at Governor Abernethy's with Mrs. Thornton; she has spent a few days with us very agreeably.

Saturday, 30. Somewhat of a pleasant day.

Sunday, 31. Rainy, small congregation, say twenty.

[1847] Monday, February 1. Beautiful day; sun shines with considerable warmth; appearances of winter so far as snow is concerned, are gone. We have seen the snow in this place for nineteen or twenty days in succession. It has not been more than three inches deep at any time in this place; though but a short distance on the hills, it has been from one to three feet deep. From the best information I can get, hundreds of cattle have died. The most of those which came over the mountains in 1846 are dead.

Tuesday, 2. Dark and rainy.

Wednesday, 3. Mr. and Mrs. Thornton dine with us. The lady has been in the city a few weeks. The man

reached this place last evening; he is a lawyer; appears as though he would be a good inhabitant in this distant land. He is a professor of religion.[3]

Thursday, 4. Mr. and Mrs. Thornton attend prayer meeting this evening; they will, I think, own their profession of religion in this dark land. Mr. T'Vault is also at prayer meeting; appears very much bowed down. I hope he may have beauty for ashes.

Friday, 5. The most of the day I spend with Esq. Thornton; somewhat pleased with him. Their journey here (the southern route) was truly suffering and perilous.

Saturday, 6. Dark and rainy. A very rainy week, Monday excepted. The river is high, though not as high as it was in the fall of 1844 by perhaps 20 feet. No fears of damage yet.

Sunday, 7. Some encouragement at our meeting. Mr. Thornton, Esq., joined by letter. Mrs. Pomeroy joined on trial, she and her child were baptised. It does appear as though the influence of our meetings is good and favorable.

Monday, 8. The sun shines again today.

Tuesday, 9. Our weather is beautiful indeed. A little frost last night, fair shining sun today. This evening I joined in wedlock Mr. S. F. Hatch[4] and Miss Cornelia Locey.

Wednesday, 10. Our weather continues fine; frosty nights, beautiful sunny days. Busy in examining Mr. Abernethy's account for the past year.

Thursday, 11. Weather continues fine.

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[3]J. Quinn Thornton became Supreme Judge under the Provisional Government and October 18, 1847, he left Oregon on a special mission to Washington bearing letters from Governor Abernethy with instructions to urge legislation in the interest of Oregon and especially the creation of Oregon Territory.

[4]Probably error; should be Peter H. Hatch, came by sea in 1843. His first wife was a Colcord. He married Sarah Cornelia Locey, as second wife, and they lived at Oregon City.

Friday, 12. Very beautiful weather. Reading the bible.

Saturday, 13. Our clouds with their accompanying rain have returned.

Sunday, 14. This is a favorable day. Congregation larger than usual; they are very attentive; it appears as though these Sabbaths will not be lost to this people. Pleasant day.

Monday, 15. Clouds and rain have returned.

Friday, 19. Bros. Leslie and Parrish are with us.

Sunday, 21. Very rainy day. Bros. Leslie and Parrish preach today.

Monday, 22. Cloudy, rainy weather. The American flag is flying on the liberty pole in remembrance of the birthday of the great, immortal Washington.

Paid D. Leslie as table expenses, Note against Trustees, $309.48. Order on G. Abernethy, $200. As salary pay him a lot of goods see bill $67.20. Paid as salary on his debt to H. B. Co. Fort V. C. $124.07. At different times heretofore, $32.73. Total $224. So that his table expenses and quarterage are paid up to May 1, 1847.

Tuesday, 23. A day of some care in collecting two important debts against John Force; one $212 VanCouver money; another of specie, $303. Finally buy his house and lots in this city, and give a year for him to purchase the property back, by making the same amount and similar kinds of payment, amount $1200. By this arrangement, I avoid the evil of calling upon Bro. Abernethy as security for Mr. Force. Mr. Force is paid as follows for his premises: A note against Judson & Wilson, $244.34. A specie note against Force & Abernethy, $303.83½; a note payable at Fort VanCouver by J. Force, $212.32½; order on Mr. Abernethy, $400; order on Judson & Wilson, $39.49.

Wednesday, 24. Bros. Leslie and Parrish are yet with us.

Thursday, 25. Our brethren Leslie and Parrish leave.

Friday, 26. Mr. Campbell,[5] clerk for Mr. McKinlay,[6] called on me this morning to cash the draft I gave Mr. Force on Mr. Abernethy. I tendered him payment in scrip; he refused to take it; I think he will be willing to take it out of Mr. Abernethy's store.

Saturday, 27. For a few days, pleasant weather; we begin to think about gardening. I have had a sore eye for a few days, and have read but little.

Sunday, 28. Cold south wind. Congregation rather small, say twenty-five hearers. A large, attentive congregation such as I used to be familiar with in the state of New York, it would be an enchanting sight; Providence permitting, I hope for such a sight within fifteen months. Providence will order all things right. Contentment is a blessing which may be enjoyed by those who confide in the wisdom and goodness of Divine Providence. Paul learned a great lesson when he learned to be content in all of the allotments of Providence.

[1847] Monday, March 1. Cloudy, dull day. Little effected with the high-poh or low-poh.

Tuesday, 2. Receive a letter from Bro. Brewer, of the Dalls station; they have had a cold winter; Ther 8 below zero; they have trouble with the Indians; one of them has had his house burned; others had things deposited in said house; and as the house burned while its owners were at meeting, they who had deposited here, demand payment for what they lost, or threaten to burn the mission buildings; my hope concerning these Indians is faint and almost dying; and as Alcohol is now to be obtained in this land, it may be extremely perilous to be so far from the white settlements, among savages who at best are bad enough, but who, when excited with ardent spirits, may be terrible not only in threat, but in the execution of said threat. I am forced to the opinion it is

[5]John G. Campbell, came with Fremont in 1843. He died Nov. 21, 1872, at Oregon City. See his advertisement in *Oregon Spectator,* Feb. 18, 1847.

[6]Archibald McKinlay of Hudson's Bay Company.

of but little use to continue this appointment. Meridian. We have just heard that "Henry" is in Bakers Bay; she has lost both anchors in crossing the bar.

Thursday, 4. We are visited by two passengers from the brig Henry. They left her while she was at Victoria, VanCouver Island; she sailed from Honolulu, January 6, reached the mouth of Columbia River in seventeen days, but owing to rough weather and unfavorable winds, she ran up to VanCouver Island; obtained additional supplies and returned and came over the bar with the loss of both anchors and great peril. Circumstances as follows:—Was sailing in with a good breeze, passed the bar, got into six fathoms of water, strong ebb tide, cast anchors, chains failed; ebb tide taking them with great force into the breakers. Providentially the wind raised and they sailed into Baker's Bay.[7] We never think of the bar at the mouth of the Columbia river without a grateful emotion at the Providential favor shown us as we passed the fearful place.

Saturday, 6. This morning, very unexpectedly, everything about us out doors appears as innocent and white as though covered with an inch or two of snow.

Sunday, 7. Cold day for this climate. Thermometer early in the morning, 14 above zero. Very small congregation. A few have lately moved out of the city who were very regular attendants on Divine worship.

Monday, 8. A colder night last night than the night before. The poor cattle in this land are suffering, many of them unto death. Paid the remainder of the bill for fencing the garden in a draft on G. Abernethy in favor of John Force, $88.79.

Wednesday, 10. Bro. Waller is with us from the Dalls. He makes a long report in writing concerning

[7]The brig *Henry,* Captain Kilbourne, from Newburyport, was afterward operated for several years as a coaster. After being purchased by Francis A. Chenoweth, first Speaker of Washington Legislature, she was used between Portland and the Cascades on the Columbia.

the Indians at the Dalls. This report I think I shall send to the Board.

Thursday, 11. Bro. Waller is with us. Snow this morning. Say, four inches deep, but the wind has turned about and comes from the south and it is warm; it has been cold for five days, the thermometer at times down to ten degrees above zero. But it is now warmer and it appears as though the snow and Jack Frost will very soon take their leave of us. This cold weather suits us remarkably well so far as health is concerned; but we have had great sympathy for the poor animals unprovided for, many of which have died. And also our sympathy has been called forth in view of the destitute condition of most of the inhabitants of the land. This destitution refers to want of apparel, and to want of warm houses.

Friday, 12. Our snow has disappeared.

Sunday, 14. Bro. Waller preaches for us today, two excellent sermons.

Monday, 15. This day I settle with Bro. Waller. Salary and table expenses from May 1, 1846 to May 1, 1847, salary, $296. He has received as reported in his bill, $84.36. Paid him in dresses, aprons and shoes, $9.55; in Dr. Long's bill for attention and medicine, to Lucy A. Lee, $2.09; due him at this date, $200. Table expenses, $557.79; balance last year, $42.09; total $591.88. Received as by his bill $165.59; by part of Dr. Long's bill, $14.16; dried apples from Pettigrove, $1.50; by order on G. Abernethy from Dr. Long's estate, $12.12. Subscription to missionary society to make Edmund James Waller a life member of said society, $20.00; by draft on G. Abernethy, $387.10;

Thursday, 16. About four p. m., Bro. Waller leaves us for the Dalls.

Wednesday, 17. Cloudy, rainy, and I am almost ready to say weather rather gloomy.

Thursday, 18. Cool, cloudy weather. This day I finished the first reading of the holy bible through in

course, since 1847 commenced its measurement of time as an event past.

Sunday, 21. But little change in our Sabbath appearances. A few families have moved away which are missed in our congregation.

Wednesday, 24. Though our weather is cool, we have started gardening. Planted potatoes, beans, peas, tomatoes, etc.

Friday, 26. Clear beautiful day. The sun shines with a thousand charming beams upon us.

Saturday, 27. The clouds and rain have returned so it is a dark and gloomy day.

Sunday, 28. Mr. T'Vault tarried in class. Speaks as though he had made up his mind to lead a new life. The joy of the occasion is with fear and trembling.

Monday, 29. Beautiful day. It is like spring. Bro. Brewer is with us.

Tuesday, 30. Settled with Bro. Brewer. Claim as salary $282. Paid in sundry ways as recorded in the Dalls bill, $53.63. Cash from Dalls station, $215.17. Cash this date, $13.20. Total $282. Table expenses, claim $429.67. Paid as reported by the Dalls bill, $228.83. Order on G. Abernethy this date, $200.84. Total $429.67. Mr. Brewer comes in for a bill of more than $110 presented on the ground of his having been charged with this amount in the VanCouver bill against the mission as gotten by him and as he says expected in some way or other for the mission. All this before I came or at least before I knew their loose way of doing business. It is not so now. I suppose I must pay this bill $110.76. Draw on Bro. Abernethy for it.

Wednesday, 31. We are having beautiful weather. A little frost in the morning. Fine shining sun through the day.

[1847] Saturday, April 3, 1847. Our quarterly meeting commences today. We have in quarterly conference fourteen members present, nine official members absent.

The members of conference are not as much united as is desirable.

Sunday, 4. A very good meeting. A number forward for prayers. Five joined society. In our public congregations, we have about eighty hearers, twenty of them females. At our communion, altar, official and lay communicants, thirty three.

Monday, 5. We are full of company. Bro. Brewer has a law suit in the circuit court now open.

Tuesday, 6. A part of our company leaves today.

Wednesday, 7. This day judgment is rendered against Brewer for $120. The suit was for a yoke of oxen left with him in 1843 by an emigrant; these oxen disappeared and have not been heard of since. This is among the difficulties and liabilities with having anything to do with the emigrants who come in over the mountains. Lent H. B. Brewer in specie to pay his bill of expenses in the law suit $27; bill 26.76; scrip $66.92. He has decided to appeal the case to the Supreme court, and consequently has returned the money, $23 specie and $10 scrip.[8]

Thursday, 8. Beautiful weather.

Friday, 9. This day I receive a draft from A. Beers for $562.56. This is for specie and is to pay the heirs of the late C. Rogers. I received from the Judge of Probate the following sums: a note of hand of Frances Bucie,[9] $62.50; account against the store at Fort Van-Couver, $93; Capt. Couch's, $263.79; mission $487.04; total, $906.33. F. Bucia's note not collected, $62.50; balance $843.83; one third off for difference in currency $281.27; balance, amount of the draft on Z. Johnson, Esq., $562.56, ninety days after sight, Easton, Fairchild Co., Conn. This day I receive from the committee to estimate table expenses for those connected with the mission, this report: H. B. Brewer, $277.35, A. F. Waller,

[8]In a letter from Brewer to Waller dated March 15, 1847, in the possession of the Oregon Historical Society, Brewer outlines his defense in this suit.

[9]Doubtless Etienne Lucier.

$376.03; D. Leslie, $339.02; total, $992.40. Time from May 1, 1847 to May 1, 1848. This is, in my opinion, rather too high.

Sunday, 11. We have probably sixty persons in our meeting today. The congregation appears as though the quarterly meetings has left them in a serious state of mind.

Monday, 12. Planted or sowed in our garden, onions, beets, carrots, and parsnips.

Thursday, 15. Finished my letter to the board. This day I hand to Capt. Kilbourn a letter directed to G. Lane and C. B. Tippelt, to be forwarded via Sandwich Islands, Panama, &c. In this letter is Mr. Beers' draft for $562.56. Paid postage $1.00. Number 2 inset of exchange is the amount sent.

Tuesday, 20. This day we sealed up our letters for the states. They are three sheets for the Board, 2 for G. Lane, 1 Moses Adams, and 1 for George Gary, Jr. We find some relief when we get a set of letters finished.

Thursday, 22. Busy reading some old papers, two years old and thereabouts.

Saturday, 24. Received letters from Bro. Waller and Bro. Brewer. They conclude to abandon the station at the Dalls.[10]

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[10]This was in reply to the following letter from Gary to Waller, dated April 8, 1847, in the possession of Oregon Historical Society:

April 8, 1847.

Br. Waller., Br. Brewer will tell you all about the suit, quarterly meeting &c. &c. I shall write to the board recommending that they direct the Supt. to make good to Br. Brewer the judgment costs so that he may not suffer by this suit. If this is in accordance with your judgment, I hope you will convey your opinion to the board. It is my opinion you had better drive your cattle to this region, say in June, we have a camp-meeting appointed to commence the last Saturday in June at the Institute. Br. Helm is desirous to have some cows and heifers. he will send his son to you in June to help you down with them. You will send Br. Helm four one year old heifers, and four two year old heifers, one of them with a calf by her side if convenient. Send him also a good yoke of oxen. Send me the best cow, and a beef; also Br. Leslie two beeves. It is the opinion of Brs. Leslie, Helm and others (my own also) that the time has come for us to abandon your appointment with a proffer to the Missionaries above you to take it, if they please. We seriously think

Sunday, 25. Beautiful day, congregation a little larger than usual, say from fifty to sixty hearers. Our Sabbath school commences again.

Thursday, 29. Send an order to Fort VanCouver for $13.69 to the credit of the mission signed by P. P. Mudgett.

Friday, 30. Some frost this morning enough to injure tender vegetables, such as beans, etc. This evening, I gave to Col. Finley our letters for the states. He heads a party of returning emigrants over the mountains. They may not be able to proceed far in this journey as it is suposed there is snow yet on the Cascade mountains.

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that you families are in danger, and that property is also in great peril at your place. The threat to burn your buildings and sundry other intimations of like character referring to personal safety; and also to the safety of things about you, renders it proper for you to leave; if you concur and agree with this opinion I think you had better make the most precedent and expeditious arrangement to get your things and families into the Willamette Valley. I hate to take upon myself the responsibility of removing you without your concurring opinion; if you cannot agree in the sentiment you ought to leave the place, and thereupon conclude to remain until you are removed by special order, and evil should befall you or yours, do not lay it to me or to the board; for I say, I think you had better leave, but I do not wish you to leave against the convictions of duty and propriety. But if you despair of doing good there, and in the mean time are in jeopardy, in your own opinion, come into this portion of the work; here is labor enough. If you leave, Br. Brewer's claim on the Mission will be good untill there is a chance for his return to the states; or if he chooses he may go up to the Institute and we will pay him for his time and expenses until he reaches the Institute; then he shall have no claim on the Mission until there is such an opportunity as he may choose to return to the states, then he shall be at the expense to get to this place. After that he shall have a claim on the board for his time and expense home to the States. I send an open letter to your care for Dr. Whitman; you will read it and if you conclude to break up, seal and direct it and send it to him; if you still hold on, destroy it. If you judge best, and conclude to break up, you may go on with the returning emigrants and see the Doctor; And make such arrangement with him to come to the Dalls as you judge proper; and sell him such things as belong to the Mission at such prices as you and he may agree upon; taking specie payments in preference to all other.

Mrs. Gary joins in regards to you all.

With Esteem

(Signed) GEORGE GARY.

P. S. If Dr. Whitman concludes to take the Dalls, perhaps he ought to pay for the windows, door trimings and such things as can easily be brought away—otherwise bring away all that is worth bringing but I would not burn the buildings. G. G.

Possibly they may have to wait after twenty or thirty miles travel for two or three weeks for the snow to disappear off the mountains between this place and the Dalls. The Columbia, it is said, has risen so that the trail for animals on its banks in places is impassable. Our letters are 3 sheets to the Board, 1 to Lane and Tippelt. In this is Mr. Beers draft as see the 15th inst. One to G. Lane and secretary. In this is a request for the treasurer to pay Dr. Babcock $51.81 for money paid to me by M. Crawford on Dr. Babcock's account, for which I am to account to the board. One sheet to G. Lane and wife, one sheet to Moses Adams, and One to G. Gary, Jr. We hope our friends will get these letters in August.

[1847] Saturday, May 1. The beautiful spring [days] are upon us but we feel more like autumn in view of our want of news. Say in what does exile consist?

Sunday, 2. Just about our usual congregation. It sometimes appears as though Divine truth would prevail and that without delay. But alas, it appears but little is done.

Tuesday, 4. This morning it is raining a little. We have had it every day for a few weeks.

Thursday, 6. We have had a most seasonable and an abundant rain. Vegetation was suffering much for want of this rain. For a few days we have had the company of Mr. and Mrs. Littlejohn with two children. Noise, tumult and trouble enough. They leave us and are bound for the states. I send by Mr. Littlejohn a letter directed to the care of Prof. Smith in Middletown, for Delos Gary; hope it will reach him in August or September.

Sunday, 9. We have about 40 at meeting. A very good Sabbath school for this land. Say thirty scholars.

Monday, 10. We are very desirous of some news from the states.

Wednesday, 12. I read a little; work in the garden a little, think of home and friends afar off a great deal.

Thursday, 13. Mr. and Mrs. Thornton came to spend a few days with us while Mr. Abernethy moves, &c &c. Cool nights so that vegetation grows slowly.

Friday, 14. Mr. Judson, who is a pretty good or rather long hang on is with us, and it is not certain when he will leave.

Sunday, 16. Our weather is warm. Congregation a little larger than usual, though I try to preach as faithfully as I can, I fear but little good is done.

Monday, 17. Our weather is warm and vegetation is suffering for rain.

Tuesday, 18. There is a great fire prevailing in the immediate vicinity, and our young city is in some danger of being burned; all or nearly all of the men of the place are out guarding against this active element; in many places near buildings the kindling flame is soon extinguished, otherwise we should soon be burned out. The wind is very high, but somewhat favorable to keep the fire a little off from the village. This day Bro. L. H. Judson leaves; he is rather of a fast friend when he calls upon us.

Wednesday, 19. The wind is high; we learn the fire is doing considerable damage in this vicinity; a little east, but adjoining the city. Yesterday I received two letters from Br. Waller; he has strong attachments to his work at the Dalls; but after all, it is in my opinion it is useless for us to remain there.

Friday, 21. Mr. Cornwell,[11] a Cumberland Presbyterian minister, visits us; he came in in the southern route. The history of this route is painful.

Sunday, 23. This holy Sabbath is spent with our small congregation.

Monday, 24. Write a letter to Bro. Waller and Brewer; hand it to Col. Finley.[12] The Col. is still detained this

[11]Rev. J. A. Cornwall.
[12]Colonel William Finley of the immigration of 1845.

side of the Cascade Mountains in consequence of snow on said mountains.

Wednesday, 26. We are having very dry weather. It is warm also. We are famishing for want of news.

Sunday, 30. Mr. Cornwall, a Cumberland Presbyterian minister, is with us; he preaches at the afternoon appointment; a good sermon; I think he will be a blessing to this land.

[1847] Tuesday, June 1. It is three years this day since we first set foot in this place; these have been years of care, responsibility &c &c, especially the first year. Comparatively, they have been years of solitude, only two or three exceptions. These seasons of overflowing joy were when we received letters from our dear friends in the state of New York. But we have now been so long without such a gust of delight, it is hard work to keep the mind from gloom, even in this beautiful season of the year, and possibly, whenever letters come, they bring us painful tidings of the deranged and broken state of the circle of our friends. That fell destroyer of our race may have been permitted to lay his chilly hand upon some who are dear to us. The ways of Providence, are, however, equal.

Wednesday, 2. The thirsty earth is favored with a small rain. It is much needed.

Thursday, 3. We are having a circumstance about or attending us quite new to us. Mr. and Mrs. Thornton are stopping with us a few weeks; he has said and written (for the Spectator) such things about the southern or Applegate route as has provoked the road hunters so that his life is threatened and he is somewhat busy preparing to resist any attacks. A Bowie knife and a six shooting revolving pistol are among his habiliments. We are not in the community of New York or the eastern states. Our community is made up to a considerable degree of southern and western people, whose differences of opinion and insults of character are easily and readily settled

with the Bowie or pistol. This rage against Judge Thornton is wholly uncalled for only as the truth goads, stings and wounds these road hunters even unto madness. While they had the suffering emigrants on their new route, who generally suffered the loss of all their property and some of them the loss of health and of life, it was all very well. But now, to be told of their deceptions, or more properly to give the public an account of it, so that others may not be led into similar sufferings and losses, is an offense which subjects a man to a threatened loss of his life. I hope the emigrants in future may be kept from the tender mercies of these road hunters.

Friday, 4. Last night, we were favored with another small rain; a very great favor indeed.

Sunday, 6. A little rain today. Congregation rather smaller than usual, say thirty hearers. I suppose quite a proportion of our population are preparing for the election tomorrow.

June 7, 1847. This is an important day, it being the first Monday in June, it is, therefore, the day for election throughout the territory. It is also the appointed time for holding the Supreme Court for the territory. It is, moreover, an important day as it is said Judge Nismith is in the city to get revenge on J. Q. Thornton, judge of the Supreme Court, for what he has published in the Spectator concerning te southern or Applegate route into which quite a proportion of the immigrants of last year were persuaded greatly, very greatly to their injury. Nismith, who has been judge when the timber was scarce, is now here for the sake of [road] hunters—their champion and bully; to whip or kill Judge Thornton for the trouble springing out of the developments made by said Judge Thornton. The Judge being a true courageous southerner is abundantly armed and is attending to his affairs as a citizen and Judge; intending either to kill Nismith or be killed by him provided said Nismith shows anything menacing in his manners towards him. Nismith

will have a trial between his bragging and clamorous honor and his fears of personal danger. I am satisfied Judge Thornton will run any risk rather than retract. So here we are, not knowing what an hour or a minute may bring forth.

With regard to the election, the strife is between temperance and alcohol; George Abernethy, temperance; A. L. Lovejoy, red faces.

Evening: The county has given a small majority in favor of Mr. Abernethy.

The day has passed without bloodshed between our road hunter champions and Judge Thornton. Nismith sent a challenge for a duel, it is supposed, but Judge Thornton refused to receive any communication from him or have any conference with him; and the mighty bustle has ended (I suppose) in a scurrilous hand bill issued by the said Nismith and posted up in sundry places, filled with low and villifying epithets concerning the judge.[13] Is this the mouse the mountain has brought forth? When I was a boy, if I remember right, I heard it said, "A barking dog seldom bites."

The Supreme court organized or opened today and then adjourned until tomorrow.

Tuesday, 8. From the reports of election from adjoining counties, there is reason to apprehend that alcohol has gained the day.

Wednesday, 9. The Supreme court this day reversed the judgment obtained in circuit court against H. B. Brewer for a yoke of oxen left in said Brewer's care in the fall of 1843. The cause is referred back to the circuit

[13]The hand bill referred to was as follows:

To the World!! J. Quinn Thornton, having resorted to low, cowardly and dishonorable means for the purpose of injuring my character and standing, and having refused honorable satisfaction, which I have demanded; I avail my self of this opportunity of publishing him to the world as a reclaimless liar, an infamous scoundrel, a blackhearted villian, an arrant coward, a worthless vagabond, and an imported miscreant; a disgrace to the profession and a dishonor to his country.

Oregon City, June 7, 1847. JAMES W. NESMITH.

court of Clackamas county. The costs thus far fall on Mr. Hutchins, he who sued Mr. Brewer.[14]

Mr. T'Vault being much crossed and afflicted in his feelings with the course of Judge Thornton in his official duties as judge of the Supreme Court, requests his name to be erased from the church records as a member on trial. We can spare him, but what will become of him,

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[14]J. Quinn Thornton was Supreme Judge at this time but he was succeeded by Columbia Lancaster in the same year (1847). The following letter from Gary is in the possession of the Oregon Historical Society:

Willamette Falls, June 18, 1847.

Rev. Messrs. Waller and Brewer and Families. Very Dear Friends. Doct. Locey will give you the passing news of the place. We have none from abroad as yet. The judgment in the Circuit Court in the cause of Hutchins against Brewer is by the Supreme Court reversed, and referred back to the Circuit Court; Br. Brewer's attention to it, will be needed at the October term of said Circuit Court. The costs so far, by the decree of the Supreme Court, fall upon Hutchins. It is my opinion, if it is attended too, the cause can be continued until you can get the affidavits of Perkins & Chapman. The legal principles involved in the cause so far as I am able to judge, have been brought out in an admirable manner by, or in, the decisions of the Supreme Court.

We are desirous of hearing from you that we may know, how you succeed in your arrangements to leave.

You will let Br. Locey have three good (perhaps your best) yoke of Oxen, yokes, chains &c. And should he feel disposed to purchase anything else belonging to the mission please sell him such things at what may be considered a low cash price. If practicable send me good cow. Perhaps also one or two beeves. If the Missionaries above do not take your place and property let as much of it come with the Doctor as seems expedient. I am expecting Br. Waller will probably come with his cattle when the Dr. returns. 19th last evening we received letters from the states; my successor was not appointed at the date of the secretary's letter May 12, 1846. Br. Hines and family had arrived, all well. It is not settled fully in my own mind when we shall leave for the states. I however think, next Fall if we go by water. Our grandchild had died, other friends well. I am desirous of writing to friends in the states. Expect a small company will leave soon, and I consequently have no time to write more now. I forward a large number of letters to you by Br. Locey. Yours with Esteem,

GEORGE GARY.

19th At noon we hear that my successor and one more Missionary have arrived in the Columbia River. Good News.

G. GARY.

Mon. 21. It is not certain that the vessel having the missionaries is yet in the River. But there is no doubt, they are near at hand. Br. Abernethy wishes Br. Waller to bring the papers, notes &c cncerning Br. Lee's estate. Br. Lee made a later will and Br. Abernethy is one of the Executors. Br. Hines has sent Br. A. a copy of the last will.

I send this by Br. Hinman. I think the Doct. will go in a few days to your place. G. GARY.

finally, is doubtful. So far as I am able to learn, the course of the judge has been professionally respectful, but my friend, T'Vault, has long had his way and now to find out he cannot carry any point at or with the court, after had his way for some time in this territory, is too much to endure, at least to endure with respectful submission and quietude. In his fret or rage, he has erased his name from the roll of attorneys in the Supreme court.

Sunday, 13. There is a great meeting today, judging from appearances, at the city hotel, as it is called. The Campbelites are holding their first great meeting in this place. They have the multitude with them. Our congregation is, of course, considerably smaller than usual.

Monday, 14. Reports from different portions of the territory represent that Mr. Lovejoy is probably elected governor; if so, there can be no doubt but alcohol, Romanism and Doctor McLaughlin together may share in the credit of the election. This three-fold cord, is, indeed, a strong one.[15]

Friday, 18. My days pass somewhat lonely; read a little, hoe in the garden a little, pine some for news, &c &c.

This evening we received letters from the states; from Dr. Pitman, children, Aaron Adams and Catharine Miller. At the date, no successor was appointed, which was May 12, 1846.

Saturday, 19. Today the delightful news that my successor has arrived in the Columbia River accompanied by another missionary, for this field of missionary labor falls upon our ears.

Wednesday, 23. Start for the camp-meeting at the Institute.

Thursday, 24. Arrive at Bro. Parrishes weary enough.

Friday, 25. Attend the Institute meeting.

[15]This was a mistake, as Abernethy was reelected by a vote of 536 to 520 for Lovejoy.

Saturday, 26. Camp-meeting commences. Say ten tents. Pretty large appearances for this land.

Sunday, 27. From three hundred to three hundred and fifty persons present at the meeting. An excellent spirit prevails in the meeting. At evening, say five or six profess religion. A gracious session.

Monday, 28. Start for the Falls; leave the meeting in a prosperous state.

Tuesday, 29. Reach home about 3 p. m. Soon hear the missionaries have arrived at Portland about twelve miles below here. In an hour, perhaps, hear they are at Gov. Abernethy's, a mile from us. Hasten to see them. Am introduced to Bro. Roberts,[16] my successor, and here is also my old friend Bro. Wilber[17] and his family. Five times, indeed, the door is opening for our leaving this distant land. We have no letters in this arrival except one old one from Dr. Pitman of September 20th, 1846, and another from Bro. David of September 21st. These were picked up in California by some means by Bro. Roberts and a few papers accompanied the letters. The general expectation so far as I can learn was, we should leave last Fall.

[1847] July 1, Thursday. We go down to Portland and engage a passage in the *Brutus*, Capt. Adams, to the Sandwich Islands, give a draft for $120 for our passage.

Friday, 2. Return to the Falls.

Sunday, 4. This day Bro. Roberts attends meeting at Portland, Bro. Wilbur and myself at the Falls. We now feel the work is in good and safe hands.

Monday, 5. We are preparing to leave; these are delightful days to us. We see the door opening for our return to the States. Providence smiles upon us.

Saturday, 10. We are very busy in preparing for our departure. Have made an arrangement to sail in the

[16]Rev. William Roberts.
[17]Rev. James H. Wilbur.

Brutus, Capt. Adams; engaged our passage to Sandwich Islands; passage $120.

I have given my papers and counsels to Bro. Roberts, my successor in this mission.

Sunday, 11. Bro. Roberts preaches at 5 o'clock p. m. I am pleased with him. I feel easy in leaving this mission in his hands.

Monday, 12. Today we leave the Falls for Portland, down the Willamette, about 12 miles; we are accompanied by Sister Wilbur and daughter, Gov. Abernethy, wife and children, Judge Thornton and lady, Bro. Roberts and wife. Bros. Roberts and Wilbur are starting about the same time we start for Yam Hill to attend camp-meeting, so while we are leaving or retiring from the work, they are engaging in it.

At evening, we find ourselves in the Brutus with our state somewhat arranged. The accommodations, to appearances, on board this ship are altogether superior to what they were on board the Lausanne, the ship in which we sailed from New York. The mosquitoes are a great annoyance in this place (Portland).

Tuesday, 13. This morning our moorings are loosened and our anchor hoisted and our sails partly spread; we bid adieu to our friends who have accompanied us so far, and with our river pilot on board, we start down the Willamette River. This is a small and difficult river for to navigate so large a vessel as the Brutus. About noon we cast anchor in the Columbia River. Surely so far we have been very successful, not having touched the bottom at all. It is somewhat common for vessels to be detained for hours, by touching some of the bars so common in the rivers. About 2 o'clock p. m., our captain goes with a boat crew to Fort VanCouver, some three miles above the mouth of the Willamette. It is so late when the captain returns we do not hoist our sails tonight.

Wednesday, 14. The wind is up the river; but we drift down the river by the current in company with the

ship Mount Vernon; one pilot directing both vessels. These vessels keep close together so that the pilot can give directions as he sees proper concerning either of them. We advance from thirty to forty miles today. We feel we are bound homeward, yet the uncertainties of a long voyage at sea are before us. Our confidence is in Him who has guided thus far, and done all things well.

Thursday, 15. We drift down the river perhaps twenty miles, against a fierce breeze; but after all it is possible and even probable that an opposing wind is to our advantage. In many places the water is shallow, and with an opposing wind, we go so slow that when we find very shallow water, we cast anchor and then kedge off our ship into deeper water with the kedge anchor, so called. In one or two instances this day the current has taken us very near the shore, but the anchor has answered its purpose apparently just before we struck. Cool west wind today, so cold as to be uncomfortable on deck.

Friday, 16. Calm, beautiful pleasant morning. The sun shines with great brightness. The Mount Vernon has struck the ground and holds still; the pilot is with us this morning and we are descending the Columbia somewhat favorably.

At noon we cast anchor near some saw mills, say twenty-five or thirty miles above the mouth of the Columbia River. Here the ship receives more freight.

Sunday, 18. We have meeting today. The men from the mills, Mr. Birnie[18] and family &c make a congregation of about thirty hearers.

Monday, 19. The crew busy taking in lumber.

Tuesday, 20. Still busy in taking in lumber.

This day I draw on the Treas. in favor of Capt. Joseph Adams for $120 for our passage to Sandwich Islands.

Wednesday, 21. This morning our anchor is hoisted, and we make an effort to float or drift down the river

[18]James Birnie, representative of Hudson's Bay Company. This was at Cathlamet, Washington.

without a pilot. We float on till one o'clock p. m. and the wind against us rising high we cast anchor. In a little while our pilot arrives. But as the wind is high, we lie at anchor the remainder of the day.

Thursday, 22. In good season, our anchor is hoisted and we are drifting slowly down stream. We proceed slowly on our way until two o'clock p. m., then cast anchor again. There is a very strong wind these days up the river; and as we are where the tide affects the current quite considerably, we can drift only on the ebb tide. So our progress is very slow. We are at anchor for the remainder of this day near Pillar Rock, a place well known in this majestic river. We perhaps have come today four miles, a small part of our voyage say of twenty thousand miles; yet every little helps.

Friday, 23. Today, as yesterday, but very little progress; say four miles. Surely our journey or voyage whichever it is called, begins slowly, very slowly indeed. We fare very well at our table; plenty of Columbia River salmon.

Saturday, 24. We make, I suppose this day, about one mile advance. This is the day of small progress.

Sunday, 25. We are now at the head of Tongue Point channel and our pilot has charge of the vessel; this holy day is spent in warping, sailing, &c across this difficult channel.

Monday, 26. An early start; but soon the ship touches the ground. We are dependent upon the state of the tide in order to get along. Our vessel draws about thirteen feet of water; we pass places where at low water there is only nine feet of water. I suppose the captain and sailors spent the greater part of this night in getting our ship into deep water.

Tuesday, 27. We find ourselves near Fort George (Astoria) this morning. I suppose two miles below where we were yesterday morning.

We take in a little freight; are visited by Bros. Ray-

mond and Judson and families, and at half past three p. m. (our pilot being on board) our anchor is hoisted, and we are on the way to Baker's Bay. This note I made too soon, for after hoisting our main anchor, and fussing away a great while, with our kedge anchor to get it up, the day is far spent the pilot concluded to cast the main anchor again and wait for another day.

Wednesday, 28. This afternoon, in ebb tide, we make our way down to Baker's Bay; here to cast our anchor for the night.

Thursday, 29. This morning, our sails are early set, our anchor hoisted; but the wind becoming very light, anchor is again cast, and we wait for a favorable time to pass over the bar of the Columbia into the ocean. The breakers on the bar appear fierce and formidable; we are in the hands of Providence.

Friday, 30. Last evening, the barque Whitan arrived here. We are anchored close together, waiting the winds to take us to sea. The Whitan is bound for California. Mr. Buck, who owes the book agents in N. Y., says he will pay the debt soon as he can; says he thinks he owes the agents at Cincinnati something also. Note for N. Y. debt left with Bro. Roberts.

Saturday, 31. About four o'clock yesterday, the Barque Whitan began to show signs of preparing to go to sea; our captain (Adams) sent his boat in great haste for the pilot; the pilot was brought; sour and short words were passed between the captain and the pilot; the pilot remained on the Brutus; the Whitan started out under the care of another (an irregular) pilot. She went out say a mile; the wind failed and with the returning tide she came back and is now anchored close by us. This morning, Captain Guston of the Whitan called on us; just as Capt. G. was coming on board, Capt. Adams went to his state room and did not show himself until Capt. G. had left (say an hour); both members of the M. E. C. and both members of the board of managers of the M. S.

of the M. E. church. I am fearful this circumstance will add to the prejudice against the Methodist Mission in this land. My opinion is, Capt. Guston ought to have obtained consent of Capt. Adams to have taken the pilot (as it is an acknowledged point Capt. Adams had the first claim to him; having been here first and having him in his employ) before he should have taken him to take out the Whitan and leave the Brutus. Yet as the Whitan is not more than half as large as the Brutus, there might be some prospect of getting her to sea, when it was evident the Brutus could not be got to sea. There is also another ground of hope in getting the Whitan to sea when the Brutus cannot be gotten to sea, viz: she is ably, very ably, manned, while the Brutus has a feeble crew. But it is painful to us, that these Methodist captains should show such a spirit towards each other, Capt. A. especially. I will make a note here; it may be premature; I hope it is in a mistaken view of Captain Adams; I fear he is unfeeling and unkind towards his crew; and that he is penurious in providing for passengers. In the vessels in which we sailed to this land, we were afflicted with intemperate captains; we will patiently endure some poor fare, provided we are not annoyed with intemperance. Providence has apparently opened the door for our sailing in this vessel at least to the Islands; we will hope for the best. We are very glad both vessels did not try to sail last evening while the captains, at least ours, was in such a pet.

Half after five p. m. Our anchor is being hoisted to give our sails to the wind and our ship to the waves of the Pacific. By seven o'clock we are over the bar and breakers at the mouth of Columbia river. The Whitan follows along behind us, guided by an unofficial pilot, but with apparent success. So both vessels are out at sea. She soon bears more southward, being bound for California. And as the shades of evening settle upon us, we lose sight of Sugar Hills and also of the barque Whitan.

Our captains part under unpleasant circumstances, in reference to their state of feelings towards each other.

[1847] Sunday, August 1. We are out at sea; with a very good breeze, progressing most finely. The intimations of seasickness keep us very still, and also keep us very abstimeous; but little food taken today.

Monday, 2. Our wind continued very favorable. We find ourselves less affected with the motion of the ship than we did yesterday. Mrs. Gary has vomited a little only as yet. We find ourselves much better situated so far as state room, cabin, &c are concerned on board the Brutus than we did on board the Lausanne. But there is not the good will and harmony among the officers and crew on board the Brutus, there was on that ship.

Tuesday, 3. While in Baker's Bay, I finished the second reading of the bible since the first of January, 1847. This day, I begin it the third time in this year. Our winds are favorable.

Wednesday, 4. We are progressing most beautifully.

Friday, 6. We have left the cool winds of the Columbia and are fanned by the soft breezes of the Pacific. Lat. 34.16 Lon. 141.20.

We have suffered but very little from sea sickness. We have every reason to be thankful.

Sunday, 8. We have meeting today, though but five hearers. Yet the Sabbath has its delights, especially when it is apparently regarded. This holy day passes with a great deal of quietude and propriety.

Tuesday, 10. For a few days our winds have been light, though favorable. We have left the cool winds of the Columbia river and are now fanned with the milder winds of the warmer latitudes.

Wednesday, 11. Our wind is increasing some; I suppose we are favored with the beginning of the trade wind. At evening, I am satisfied we have not fairly reached the trade winds yet; our wind is unsteady with small showers of rain.

Thursday, 12. The sea is considerably rough today, and Mrs. Gary suffers some from seasickness.

Friday, 13. We are rapidly approaching the Sandwich Islands. The sea smoother than yesterday. Lat. 22.70. Lon. 154.00. Small showers today. Mrs. Gary has had six gallons of rain water within a day or two and has done considerable of a washing. We are flattered with a hope of seeing the harbor of Honolulu tomorrow.

Saturday, 14. We are in the neighborhood of the Sandwich Islands; but are at some loss to determine the way to Oahu; just at evening we see a sail ahead; hoist a signal for speaking, and in a little while we are within speaking distance. We now learn that the island of Oahu is still onward. But we lie by the most of the night, early set forward, and on Sunday, 15, at about half past one p. m., we cast anchor in the outer harbor at Honolulu. In a little while the pilot visits us.

Monday, 16. We are early visited by the pilot and by half past seven a. m., we are safely anchored in the inner harbor in Honolulu.

In a little while, we are visited by Mr. Damon, the seaman's chaplain. Mr. Hall, of the Presbyterian mission, also calls to us. Mr. Damon and wife take tea with us on board the Brutus.

Tuesday, 17. We go to Mr. Damon's.

Wednesday, 18. After making a very pleasant visit at Mr. Damon's, we return to the Brutus about 4 p. m.

Saturday, 21. We are having very warm weather, and these days of delay will pass with us heavily. I hope some favorable opportunity will present itself to us, to start for home before the Brutus will get ready. It is expensive to remain in this port.

Sunday, 22. We attend service this day at the "Bethel" and hear two sermons from Mr. Damon, the seaman's chaplain. He invited me to preach in the evening, but I preferred to wait until next Sabbath.

Thursday, 26. There are in this harbor two armed

vessels; one English, the other American. On board the American, there was a ball last night. Our captain, a member of the M. E. church and a member also of the board of managers, was at it! Has Methodism come to this? My confidence in his piety was never very great; little as it was, it was shaken in his neglect of Capt. Guston while we were in Baker's Bay. Where is this confidence now? after having witnessed his fretful, fault-finding habits for some weeks, and also hearing his continual complaints of every person and thing, almost, connected with the benevolent operation of the Christian church in the present age, and now, to wind up the affair, or to give, as it were, a finishing touch to his character, he attends this ball. In this community, it seems peculiarly bad. The depraved part of this foreign population are considerably prejudiced against the members of the Presbyterian mission of these islands; and to have this Methodist captain go to the ball with them, and spend hours in such scenes and company; it is painful; it is mortifying; would that he were not known as a Methodist man—But that as far as we are concerned, I suppose, that which cannot be cured, must be endured; I do not think the captain danced at the ball. Is it true, "Man is known by the company he keeps"? I should be pleased with a good chance to change vessels.

This day we finish three letters to be sent to the States by the Whaleship, William Hamilton. They are for C. Pitman, M. Adams and children, one sheet each.

Friday, 27. This day we go on shore to visit our friends, Mr. Damon and sundry persons connected with the Presbyterian mission.

In the afternoon of this day, I see Mr. Pierce, the first mate of the whaleship William Hamilton, of New Bedford, now lying in the port, bound for home. I had before this applied to the captain, Captain Fisher, for a passage home, but his answer was, they were so full, there was no room. I now named the thing to the mate; he said

they were full, but they talked the subject over of taking us, and would be glad to accommodate us. I told him if they could and would make room for us, by selling twenty barrels of oil, I would pay the difference in the price between this market and that of New Bedford, which would be about $100. When he went away, Mr. Damon went with him; and in a little while Mr. Damon returned saying he had been to the ship and seen the officers; they had concluded if we would give to the officers of said ship $100 they would discommode themselves so as to give us the occupancy of the captain's state room and they would give up their rooms to the captain. Mr. Damon and his wife, Mrs. Gary and myself go immediately to the Wm. Hamilton and see the ship, state room &c, the captain and officers, and the arrangements are readily made for our passage to the States in said ship. It is to be submitted to the owners, when we arrive, what more we shall pay for our passage. Mr. Damon and the members of the mission all judged it safe to be left in this manner. We are to lay in some stores as an outfit. Expenses at this place, outfit, &c.

To Capt. Adams for board while in port	$10.00
Fruit and washing	3.50
To the officers of Wm. Hamilton	100.00
Copper bucket 8.00, Two boxes of crackers	15.00
Pickles and ginger preserves	3.75
Tea $6, soups $2.25, water filter $8.00	16.25
Raisins $4.50, prunes $2.00, To Mr. Damon for attention and favor $20	26.50

Saturday, 28. We are enjoying our prospect of sailing soon very much indeed; to be on our way homeward is pleasing indeed; and we are willing to venture a change in vessels, in view of a change in our captain, officers, crew, &c.

Sunday, 29. In the morning of this day we attend the service among the natives; afternoon "Bethel"; in the evening, I preach in the "Bethel" chapel.

Monday, 30. We are busy in preparing for our voyage.

Tuesday, 31. In the morning, say by ten o'clock, we are on board our new floating home and are visited by Capt. DuPont, U. S. Navy (Ship Cyane); Mr. Damon and family, Mrs. Terrill[9] (consul's wife) and some others. At mid-day, our friends leave, our pilot takes us out of the harbor and soon we are at sea again. Everything appears agreeable on board; yet we shall undoubtedly suffer more seasickness on board the Wm. Hamilton than on the Brutus, as her cabin, state room, &c are below, whereas on the Brutus they were on deck. But I do not think we shall suffer near as much from a fretting captain and snarling crew.—But we must wait.—One month today since we came over the bar of the Columbia. Providence appears to smile upon us. It is rather remarkable that we are able to take passage in this vessel. A sea captain had been denied; and yet by some means they consent to take us. A matter of general surprise, and I guess a matter of some feeling to our late captain. But we have passed the point somewhat smoothly, at least apparently so.

[1847] September 1. We are at sea, somewhat sea sick. Our wind is very light and we feel more sea sickness, I think, than though we had a fine breeze. Temperance, I think, reigns here.

Saturday, September 11. We have progressed slowly, our winds having been unsteady and for a portion of the time, head winds. The great object to be gained is to get south, as fast as possible; we are perhaps about seven or eight degrees north of the equator. Our captain wishes to get into thirty or thirty-five south latitude so as to make southing enough to go round Cape Horn.

We have suffered considerably (especially Mrs. Gary) from the scent of bilge water in the vessel; it has been so rank in the cabin and state rooms as to discolor the ceil-

[9]Mrs. Joel Turrell.

ings; and this scent has been very disagreeable indeed. Every precaution, I suppose is now used to guard against it; twice a week say twenty or more barrels of water is poured into the vessel, to keep the oil casks moist to prevent their leaking. After this water has been in a few hours, it is pumped out; which has a very great tendency to keep the hold of the ship clean. The scent is diminishing, and we are getting more used to it, so we hope to be soon comfortable. We find our captain, officers and crew harmonious, quiet and pleasant. We are highly pleased with the exchange of the Brutus for the Wm. Hamilton; not that she is as pleasant as the Brutus in the finishing of her cabin &c, but she is apparently freighted with a very good share of good humor and with a prevailing disposition to accommodate and please and nothing small and niggardly appears as yet in our voyage. In all these points there is as great a dissimilarity between the Brutus and Wm. Hamilton as there is between penurious selfishness and a becoming and noble generosity. To be a little particular, in the Brutus, we had in the morning warm soft bread, at no other meal soft bread; no vegetables, at any time. In the Wm. Hamilton, we have good soft bread at every meal; a plenty of good potatoes and such other vegetables as were in market at Honolulu. In the Brutus, we were provided for as in a merchant vessel fitted for passengers. In this vessel, we were appraised that they only laid in such stores as were befitting themselves as whalemen, and that we, as passengers, would need some supplies of our own. But after all, the great item of our change is, the getting rid of faultfinding and scolding and its ordinary ill will &c. These were very painful to us. We have a very pleasant state of things in the vessel. We have prayers at evening in the cabin, accompanied generally with singing, as well as reading the holy scriptures. In favorable weather, we shall have meetings on the Sabbath, and we feel that Providence has presented this opportunity for our sailing to the beloved land of our

nativity. We are oppressed some with the heat, and are having considerable rain, so that we are kept in the cabin rather closely; it is my opinion we shall feel contented if we ever reach home. By this, I do not mean we are now, or ever have been discontented; but we shall be better able to prize the delights and privileges of home and friends than we ever were before we sailed for Oregon.

Sunday, 12. In the afternoon, we have meeting, 26 hearers, quite a congregation for this place. In the evening, we see some porpoises, the first we have seen in our homeward bound voyage.

Monday, 13. Beautiful day, wind more favorable. North Lat. 5.34. See some black fish today. They did not, however, come very near.

Tuesday, 14. We are progressing slowly, winds light and they are from such a direction we can do but very little, if any, easting. Our Lat. today is 3.56. Lon. 154.31. There is a current wafting us westward. We are somewhat oppressed with the heat.

Wednesday, 15. We are south of the sun, say thirty miles. Lat. 2.16. Lon. 155.41.

Thursday, 16. We are making slow progress. We are forty three miles north of the equator. Lon. 146.48.

Friday, 17. Our wind is a little more brisk. We find ourselves in South Lat. 0.48. Lon. 156.51. We crossed the equator about midnight last night. Rather of an important point in our voyage. We have been unable to make much easting since we left the islands owing to the wind being so much south of east. Have had to run very close to the wind to avoid falling far to the west. Our captain does not expect to make much easting until we shall be to twenty-five or thirty degrees south latitude. Then he expects to make longitude and latitude 20 as to bring us to a favorable position to pass round Cape Horn. Mrs. Gary has suffered considerably from sea sickness since we left Oahu, owing very much to the

bilge (as it is called) in the ship. She is now better and we flatter ourselves the worst (so far as sea sickness is concerned) is over. We find everything made as agreeable to us as can be by the captain, officers and all on board; we feel ourselves favored in this opportunity for sailing homeward.

Saturday, 18. Our latitude today is 2.27; our weather is beautiful; this morning a few whales were seen blowing at a distance from us, and we are enjoying ourselves pretty well. Only we should be pleased with a brisker breeze and with swifter speed homeward. Providence is wise and kind and contentment should be ours. It is hardly possible to describe the difference between the Brutus and the Wm. Hamilton, in respect to agreement and harmony. Good will had no place in the Brutus. He lives here fore and aft, and ever appears to be at home.

We have on board three American seamen sent home by the American consul at the Sandwich Islands; they are disabled seamen; one of them has the consumption; this fearful and fatal disease has such hold upon him as that in all probability he will be committed to a watery grave, even before we pass round Cape Horn. He was desirous to start for home and if possible reach Sag Harbour before death, and see his wife to whom he had been married about two months before he sailed into these seas on a whaling voyage. Poor sailor, it is hardly possible he will ever see his native land or his darling wife. Providence give us an opportunity to counsel him as well as we can. I hope it will not be in vain.

Sunday, 19. A very pleasant day, very light wind. Nearly all on board attend meeting. In the evening, quite a number of the sailors before the mast are very (apparently) delightfully employed in singing Methodist tunes and hymns. It sounds very agreeably to our ears. This Sabbath has some delights peculiar to the Sabbath.

Monday, 20. Yesterday, fish such as Macon, Buntia, &c, were seen around the ship; one shark presented him-

self to our view; several kinds of birds were about us also; one passed the night on the ship, I mean on some of the timber provided for elevating the boats. It left this morning without any apparent thankfulness. It is nearly a calm; we desire to be patient, confiding in the wisdom and goodness of divine Providence.

Tuesday, 21. Three weeks today since we left Baker. We are highly pleased with our situation, so far as captain and company are concerned. We have a brisk wind this morning; are progressing most finely, and such is the action or motion of the ship Mr. "Bilge" smells as though he had "broke wind."

Wednesday, 22. Our wind continues very favorable. The greatest appearance of "squally times" on board the ship we have seen. One man I see seated alone by himself, as upon the stool of penitence or punishment. I hear he used profane and disrespectful language last night to one of the mates. He has a silent, quiet time to reflect upon it. So far, I am led to think Capt. Fisher governs the ship's company admirably.

P. M. The above note I made before noon. About two this afternoon, the captain spoke to me requesting Mrs. Gary and myself to go into the cabin; as he wished to talk to his men about the insubordination of last night; he stated to them, the man who abused the mate last night must make an acknowledgment to said mate, or be flogged. Ten or twelve of the forecastle men presented themselves in an attitude which indicated a disposition to interfere with the government of the ship. The captain prepared himself by arming himself and his officers with loaded guns, pistols, knives, etc., and at about four went upon deck, prepared for the times however they might appear. In a very short time, the offending man made the required confession, and was released (he having been tied previously up). But there still appears among a few of the crew an insubordinate spirit. My confidence in the captain is increasing. It is my opinion, he

will succeed and bring these restless fellows to their place. He undoubtedly has been too indulgent to them, and they now think of running over him. But I very much doubt whether they will step high enough to run over him. Such scenes would have been more alarming to us four years ago than now; somehow or other, we are different from what we used to be; we like to see justice dealt out to these rough fellows.

Yesterday I finished my first reading of the holy bible in course since we left the Columbia River.

Thursday, 23. This morning before breakfast, while we were all on deck, the most insolent fellow to the captain yesterday came aft near where the captain stood, and commenced saying something. The captain told him to go forward, and not come near him; he still continued to try to say something and did not hasten forward as directed. The captain gave him a moderate blow with a gun he held in his hand, and he hastened along to his place; in my opinion, this is a blow in season. I now think they begin to think it is best to be quiet and orderly.

Sunday, 26. The wind and the waves are so high and noisy we have no meeting today. We suppose we are near some small islands; these islands are to be dreaded at sea. There is danger of running on them, especially in the night.

Tuesday, 28. Four weeks today since we left Honolulu. We like our captain very well. Everything appears quiet and pleasant since the open outbreak last week.

About 4 p. m. An island is seen on our larboard bow. As we pass along, it presents itself to our view more clearly. For a while it is somewhat doubtful whether it is inhabited or not but our doubts vanish as the shades of evening gather about us for we see a bright light kindled upon it, undoubtedly to attract our attention and induce us to call and get supplies, but as it is night and we have a brisk wind, we pass along. This island cannot be very far from the Society Islands. Our Lat. today,

19.30. Lon. 147.08. We have been unable to make much easting since we left Oahu. We have been closely braced up to the trade winds, which have come so much from the east as to prevent us from gaining much in longitude, and indeed probably we shall not gain much until we get as far south as 35 or 40. Then we expect westerly winds by which we hope to be driven more directly towards Cape Horn.

Thursday, 30. Our wind keeps us from advancing towards the east. But we do pretty well in gaining latitude.

[1847] Friday, October 1. Our latitude 24.21. Lon. 160.25.

Saturday, 2. Lat. 26.18. Lon. 160.45.

Sunday, 3. A most beautiful day, light favorable winds. A very pleasant meeting.

Monday, 4. A fine favorable wind, we appear now to set out for Cape Horn in good earnest. The weather somewhat cloudy and cool upon deck. I suppose we shall keep our cabin mostly for some weeks. South Lat. 30.08. Lon. 158.31.

The motion of the ship wrenches my breast so I cannot read much. I lie a considerable part of the time on the bed. I shall be thankful, I hope, when this voyage is over.

Tuesday, 12. I have been quite unwell for some days. The rolling ship is by no means a very pleasant place to be sick in. I have read very little for nearly two weeks. Our weather is cloudy, cool, attended with small showers, much like our April showers. We are nearly as far south as we are north when at home. And this weather is as much like April weather in the state of New York; and the north wind here brings small showers like the south winds of April in New York. Our progress for some days has been tolerably good. Lat. 39.30. Lon. 140.18.

Thursday, 14. My health is now good, though as yet I have read but little lately. I am satisfied I shall read

but little until we get round Cape Horn. The sea is rough and the winds are cool.

Friday, 15. We have had what is called a "gale," but nothing to frighten us as yet. Indeed, from account, the hardest gale was in the night, but it did not awake me.

Sunday, 17. Our weather is cool and rough; consequently we have no meeting. Our vessel takes in, upon deck, occasionally, heaving seas. But we trust she will convey us safely to the land of our destination.

Monday, 18. The violence of the winds and waves has abated. Rather a pleasant day. We are approaching Cape Horn. Our latitude today, 42.00. Lon. 121.10.

Friday, 22. We are having milder weather than we expected in this high southern latitude. For a few days, our wind has been light, our progress consequently slow. Lat. 45.00. Lon. 110.24. Four years ago this day we spent with our venerable parents, Father and Mother Adams, in Steuben, Oneida county, N. Y. This was the last visit we made them before we started on our long journey for Oregon. We are now on our return. Hope in a few months to see them again. Eight years ago today, these aged friends gave me in wedlock their only daughter; she has been with me in these wanderings over the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, up and down the rapid rivers of the far west, and over the beautiful flowery prairies of Oregon; and is now floating with me homeward to the land of our nativity. Surely to these venerable parents I am indebted, a debt I shall never be able to pay. I will most cheerfully remember their kindness with gratitude; and if there ever is an opportunity, every mark of attention and respect shall be most readily and cheerfully shown them. Providence only sees into the future.

Saturday, 23. Meridian. We have had almost a calm for the last twenty four hours. An event unexpected in this high southern latitude.

Sunday, 24. Such is the coolness of the weather, especially upon deck, we do not have any meetings in

these high latitudes. Mr. Wright, our consumption sufferer, appears to be failing very fast; poor man, I expect he will find his grave in the deep.

Monday, 25. A very fair wind. Lat. 48.22. Lon. 103.20.

Thursday, 28. We are highly favored in having so few gales and fierce winds in this high southern latitude. Our progress is not very rapid, yet we are approaching Cape Horn with considerable speed. It is cool upon deck. Thermometer 42. The deck is wet by the dashing waves which pass over it very freely. We keep in the cabin the most of the time where we are the most comfortable we ever have been at sea, having a stock of plenty of room and plenty good company. Lat. 52.10. Lon. 92.19. Sometimes a little anxiety will arise about the success and speed of our voyage. Providence will order all right. A thought will occasionally arise about the uncertainty and treacherousness of the elements on which we are so dependent in our present situation, and we know not the amount of peril to which we are exposed from Mexican privateers and if possible the more unprincipled pirates who roam over the deep to find their prey.

Saturday, 30. We are met by opposing winds so that we are unable to keep our course; we fall some to the north of east, whereas our course is nearly south east; we must make a few degrees of latitude south before we can go much further east so as to pass Tierra del Fuego, a little out from Cape Horn.

It is cold upon deck, with light squalls of snow. Ther. 38. Lat. 52.30. Lon. 86.23.

[1847] Monday, November 1. About noon today the wind comes round so that our ship is headed the right or desirable course; a few days of favorable wind, with the blessing of a kind Providence, will put us round the far famed Cape. My health is poor, I hardly know how to account for it. The inactivity of so long a voyage,

and then the continual wrenching of the motion of the ship may be the cause.

Friday, 5. We are now in the neighborhood of the far famed Cape Horn, Lat. 57.13. Lon. 68.11. This morning about eight o'clock, we were saluted from the deck with Sail ho! and as we bore away towards the vessel, we soon saw Spanish colors and as we spoke to her, by the speaking trumpet, we were not able to get any news concerning the Mexican war, and indeed not much of any news at all. This is the first vessel we have seen since we left Oahu; are desirous to learn, especially, our liabilities in reference to Mexican privateers. We suppose our voyage is about half accomplished; but it is very doubtful whether the remainder will be performed in the same amount of time; we are very dependent upon the wind. Say at six p. m., another cry of Sail Ho! a vessel is seen north of us; but it is so far off, and as we have a favorable breeze, we keep on our course, not knowing of what character or nation the vessel may be of. This is a very beautiful day, mild weather; fair sun and a favorable breeze.

Saturday, 6. This morning, we find ourselves visited by head winds; they are light and soon sink away into a calm. I suppose it is rather uncommon to have the elements off this Cape so quiet as they now are. We are just entering into the Atlantic and should consider ourselves highly favored with a breeze that would allow us to sail north east. My health is better than it has been for some days past. Cathartics and blistering have apparently relieved me. We are so far south, we have but very little night at this season; not quite three hours out of the twenty-four but what some day light may be seen; that is, not quite three hours darkness between the twilight of the evening and the morning; this is pleasant to those rocked on the waves of this place.

Sunday, 7. A very beautiful morning; sun shines with considerable warmth; three vessels said to be in

sight from mast and head. At about eight a. m., our captain goes to visit one of these vessels; the only one that comes near us. He gets but little news from her. She said four months ago the Mexican war was still going on. No news of privateers in our route. He brought back a few newspapers, mostly of June, 1847.

Monday, 8. Last night a strong gale from the north met us; it is still blowing upon us with considerable fury; it gives us a rough sea, and considerable of a shaking, nothing, however, very alarming, but it keeps us back from our course.

Tuesday, 9. Our gale has abated; the wind has come round to the west so we are able to make some progress homeward. Lat. 55.32. Long. 60.11. As we have fairly passed round the Cape, our course now seems more directly towards home; and we have solicitude to have the winds drive us towards the United States with rapidity. It is ten weeks today since we left Honolulu, and we hope, Providence favoring us, to set foot on land in our native country within ten weeks more. It is a very cheering thought that we are on the second half of our voyage.

Friday, 12. For a few days, our winds have been very light; almost a calm; our progress consequently, has been slow; but now we are moving homeward most finely, and would like a brisk breeze to drive us rapidly homeward. My health today and yesterday is better than it has been for some time.

Saturday, 13. We are favored with strong wind, driving us homeward. Every favorable day gives us delight. Today, Lat. 49.04. Lon. 50.51.

Friday, 26. Since the last date, I have been sick, suffered much pain in the bowels; from the best views we can obtain (which is by the book accompanying the ship's medicine chest) the inflamation of the intestines is the source of this pain; it is no pleasant situation to be sick in, far from medical aid, and rocked with the constant and often uneasy motion of the ship, whether you

choose it or not; add to this, utterly unable to obtain any little delicacies suited to the appetite and comfort of the sick. No telling what I would have given for a piece of chicken, and, indeed, now it would be far better than money; but so far I have got along. By having recourse to the active medicines of the chest, such as calomel and julap, salts and thorough blistering, the present appearance is, I am very essentially relieved; perhaps cured.

Since the last entry of the 13th, we have had for a considerable part of the time north winds which has prevented us from making latitude as is desirable; we are far enough to the east, being in longitude 31, or thereabouts, and latitude 30. Today we are favored with a very fine breeze, wafting us homeward most beautifully.

Saturday, 27. This evening we are in an entire calm. But few things are more uncertain than the wind.

Sunday, 28. A sail seen at a distance. My health is too poor to have a meeting.

Tuesday, 30. We are beating against a north wind. Four years today since we sailed from New York. Four months this day since we crossed the bar at the mouth of the Columbia River. Three months since we left Honolulu.

[1847] Saturday, December 4. My health is tolerably good at this time, though I have to be careful at the table. For some days, we have had a head wind, and all we have advanced in our voyage has been by frequently tacking ship, and beating our way against the wind; this is a slow work; last evening, the wind came round fair, though light; and we are now sailing at a slow rate, directly in our course; possibly we have the beginning of the south east trade wind; should it prove so, we shall consider ourselves highly favored. Ten days ago, we were as far east as was necessary; we continue in about the same longitude; we have been this time between 31 and 33 degrees west longitude. Our Lat. today is 23.55. Lon. 32.20. This morning, a sail at a distance was seen,

in the course of the day she approached a little nearer; but in the night she changed her course a little and on Sunday morning could only be seen from mast head. The sight of a vessel is attended with some little anxiety, lest it might prove a privateer or pirate.

Sunday, 5. The wind is so brisk and surges of water so frequently dash upon deck, we have no meeting today.

Monday, 6. We have most evidently the trade wind and are driven homeward most beautifully. Lat. 18.39. Lon. 32.07. Really it seems like approaching towards home.

We are in the torrid one and have passed under the sun again, yet we are fanned so finely by these favorable breezes we feel but little oppression from the heat; hereafter we shall, I suppose, look upon the sun as a southern sun; this will be pleasant to us; before many weeks we expect to see the north star.

Wednesday, 8. This day I am fifty four years old; truly an old man. Never have I felt so much like being worn out, as since we left Oahu. I have suffered much pain and still do daily. What it will amount to, I do not know. Providence will order all for the best.

Saturday, 11. We are this afternoon in sight of land on the Brazil coast. The captain designs to call at Pronumbuco [Pernambuco] to obtain a few additional supplies for the ship's company. Mr. Wright, the consumption man, lies very low; he must die soon.

At five p. m., Mr. Wright breathed his last. As our captain has no bill of health from the last port from which we sailed, and as it is uncertain whether he could obtain permission to bury the body in this papal region, though Pronumbuco is in full view, he holds out from the harbor until tomorrow.

Sunday, 12. About eight this morning, the body of Mr. Wright was committed to the watery grave, say 15 miles from the Port of Pronumbuco. Rather a solemn

sight, for the first time, at least, to witness this way of burial.

At eleven a. m., cast anchor in the outer harbor of Pronumbuco, say two or three miles from the light house. In the afternoon, we have meeting, here in sight of papacy; I suppose, however, we give no offence to any.

Monday, 13. Our captain leaves the vessel early and by about ten o'clock he sends fresh beef and oranges so that we have a feast day of it; though I like the oranges well, yet I should prefer some good apples, such as grow in Oneida county.

Tuesday, 14. Early this morning, our anchor is hoisted, sails spread and we again under a very light breeze are moving homeward. The coast of Brazil in sight all day. In the afternoon, we spoke to a vessel forty eight days from Boston; obtained two news papers dated October 22 and 23, fresh papers to us.

Wednesday, 15. We are fairly out at sea again, no land to be seen; a fine wind is pushing us towards the United States. The fruit I have eat or some other favorable circumstance; my health is abundantly improved; I have not felt so well for nearly three months; I am eating freely of tomatoes, oranges and have a few apples. Luxury, indeed.

Thursday, 16. We have a very favorable breeze and are wafted homeward with great delight. Lat. 3.13. Lon. 35.29.

Friday, 17. We are going most delightfully. Our progress is perhaps six miles or more an hour; though near the equator, yet such is the activity of the wind we are not oppressed with the heat any by day, at night we feel it some in our state room. Thermometer 84. This day, I finish the fourth reading of the holy bible for the year 1847. Probably I should have read it once more, had I enjoyed good health since we left Oahu. Lat. 3.13. Lon. 35.29.

Friday, 17. Beautiful wind, Lat. 0.28. Lon. 36.45.

Saturday, 18. Last evening, a little before sunset, we crossed the equator, and find ourselves today at meridian in 1.55 north latitude.

Sunday, 19. Little or no wind with frequent showers; too rainy for meeting.

Monday, 20. Last night an abundant rain. We flatter ourselves we have the north east trade winds; are going finely. A sailor (the cooper) gave me a cane this afternoon.

Wednesday, 22. We are progressing homeward very successfully. Lat. 7.40. Lon. 43.19.

Thursday, 23. Meridian Lat. 9.51. Lon. 46.15. This forenoon we have packed the large trunk; perhaps not to be opened until we reach Oneida county. My health is good. Mrs. Gary's also very good, for which may we be thankful.

Saturday, 25. Christmas! We have a very favorable wind. The sea somewhat rough and our ship consequently uneasy; yet the noise of the winds and waves are as music to our ears, while they waft us homeward with such rapidity. Lat. 14.00. Lon. 51.47. The second mate has given me a new cane.

Wednesday, 29. We never were so highly favored, I think, with so fair and so brisk a wind as we are now having. We have averaged, I suppose, two hundred miles a day, on our direct route, for eight or more days; we are still going ahead; no telling how agreeable to our feelings; truly we desire to be thankful. Lat. 22.30. Lon. 62.27.

Friday, 31. 1847 takes its leave of us this day. To us it has had some important events; among them are the arrival of the missionaries in Oregon last July, our leaving Oregon on the last day of July, five months ago today; also our leaving Honolulu the last of August, four months today; last, but by no means least, our being so near the states at the present time. Lat. 26.51. Lon. 67.10. Our wind continues good, though not so brisk as

for a few days past. We hope Divine Mercy will forgive the follies and faults of the year now closing; and help in redeeming time to the best advantage in future.

1848. Saturday, January 1. The new year has opened upon us. Surely it begins pleasant with us. The day is clear, the weather mild, the wind favorable, different from one year ago. Then we were shut up at Williamette Falls, with the gloom, rain and darkness of an Oregon winter upon us and about us; now we are here, approaching our own coast; it may, to be sure, be boistrous and stormy, yet we have hopes of setting foot again on our native land. We have just spoken a small schooner eight days from Boston; got some papers, the latest date December 22, 1847. This is almost enchanting to us. We hope a few days will put us on land in New Bedford. Time, Time! How it flies! How important its improvement!

Sunday, 2. This morning before sunrise, I went on the deck. In a little while, a sailor by the name of Joseph came to the water butt to get water for his morning wash; the captain asked him, who told him to get water there to wash with; after some words he poured back the water, and started forwards; the captain kicked him twice or thrice; he, Joe, turned round, took hold of the captain; the captain seized him (no blows were struck); in a very short time, the second mate took Joe aft. I went below, but as I learned Joe was tied up and whipped, say from ten to fifteen lashes. This event scared me dreadfully.

It is so windy and rough we have no meeting today. At about eight p. m., all hands were called to reef sails; we had wind and a rough sea through the night.

Monday, 3. Strong head wind, very rough sea. Lat. 32.16. Lon. 70.30.

Tuesday, 4. Wind not quite so strong; sea not quite so rough; but little progress, however, on our route. Lat. 31.41. Long. 71.32.

Wednesday, 5. We are making slow progress, but very little wind stirring this morning; very pleasant; Mrs. Gary sewing on deck; We are steering north west, which is nearly the desirable point, until we reach the gulf stream.

Saturday, 8. For a few days, light winds; sometimes quite calm; we are, however, making some progress homeward. It is evident by the warmth of the water, we are in the Gulf Stream; and we have some idea we may reach New Bedford within a week.

Tuesday, 11. We are progressing very slowly indeed, head winds and calms attend us pretty constantly. We have had some gales, but nothing frightful as yet. It is quite cold; Considerable ice on deck. This coast is not an inviting place in winter, only as it is connected with "home sweet home." Lat. 38.30. Lon. 72.55.

Wednesday, 12. About five last evening, a favorable wind from the south west arose and continued steady nearly twelve hours. We prospered very finely indeed. This morning as half past seven, sounded and found bottom at 23 fathoms; at eight, the captain from mast head sang out, "Land Ho." But the wind is now light, and not very favorable. It has come around to the north, and I suppose we cannot go far on our route with the wind from this point. So near home, we feel no small interest in the character of the wind.

Thursday, 13. We are in full view of a portion of Long Island, but our wind is not favorable.

Friday, 14. Nine a. m. We have just passed Block Island. We are having a fine breeze; our captain and first mate are almost beside themselves with excitement, lest the wind should fail before we enter the harbor at New Bedford. We are met by a pilot at ten a. m. and in six hours are on land in New Bedford, put up at the Eagle hotel. In the evening, are visited by Captain Fisher and an old Methodist preacher, David Wehle.

Captain charges us $50 for passage from Honolulu to New Bedford.

Saturday, 15. I was unwell and so much excited that I did not sleep and until three o'clock this morning. To-day we are visited by Bros. Wehle, Kent, Filmore and Butler, and are moved to Bro. Gifford's.

Sunday, 16, is spent in the house of God with His worshipping people.

Monday, 17. This afternoon we start for New York.

Tuesday, 18. We arrive at about nine in the morning at the Book Room. Converse by telegraph with H. B. Clarke in Utica, informing him of our arrival, and learn in return that our people are well so far as he knows; a very great relief to our minds.

Wednesday, 19. Spent this forenoon in preparing to meet the board at four this afternoon.

COLONEL GRIMSLEY'S PROPOSED EXPEDITION TO OREGON, IN 1841

Introduction

The files of the Indian Department, at Washington, D. C., contain a brief series of interesting, though not viatally important, letters from a prominent citizen of St. Louis, Thornton Grimsley, to President John Tyler and Secretary of War John Bell, relative to an armed expedition to take possession of the Oregon Country. Two of these letters are presented herewith, with a sketch of the life of Colonel Grimsley. These have come to me through the courtesy of Miss Drumm, librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, and are presented without other comment than that they evidence a lively interest in Oregon by the people of the then Western frontier.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

St. Louis 16th April, 1841.

Honerable John Bell,
Secty of War.

Sir—Some days since I had the honor to address you on the subject of Superintendent of Indian Affairs here, and the Oregon Territory. In that letter I gave it as my opinion that the present incumbent Majr. Pilcher—ought to be removed. Time and intercourse with my fellow citizens since has only strengthened my then expressed opinion. No man in or out of office in this country has been more vindictive or is now the pliant tool of T. H. Benton than is this same indian agent. Our next move here, I think, will be to instruct Benton to leave the Senate of the U. States but we cannot do it if the high places of power having a direct bearing on that great object is held by serfs who would buoy him up at the sacrifice of all principle and the complete prostitution of every growing interest of the country. I hope that Pilcher, and all others who was placed in office by the late administration

and who made electioneering temples of their offices, may be in due time removed.

Now for the Origon. For the last twenty years I have had a constant intercourse with the various trading companies to the Mountains to Santafee and California. Nearly all of them have been fitted out by my establishment. I am not a man of letters but profess to be something of an observer of human nature. Aside from my personal acquaintance with many of the leading men now in the Mountains I am sure I can gain an ascendency over the various roaming tribes of Indians as soon if not sooner than any man you can find in this country.

Should it be the policy of the Nation to take possession of the Origon country and the will of the appointing power to give me the command of the expedition I will on your requisition *Show* you a map of the whole country from the western bounds of the Missouri to the Pacific Oceon on which you will see clearly delineated all the water courses the names of the various tribes of indians, and the countrys they inhabit.

This map, as I before stated, was compiled from the notes of Mr. J. Smith, who was of the firm of Smith, Sublett and Jackson, successor to Gen'l Ashley in the fur trade. The British traders take from that country annually from one to one and a half millions of dollars of furs, and I see no reason why our own people mite not have the benefit of that valuable branch of our commerce. I am aware I may worry your patience by addressing you such long epistles on this subject, and more particularly so when you have never known me personally and of course have but an indefinite idea of me, if you recollect me at all. Our only interview was a mere introduction at the Nashville convention.

I have had the offer on several occasions of the command of an expedition to California, and at one time had the offer of 700 names all enrolled. These men would mostly all go with me to Origon, and I assure if the Gov-

ernment is determined to possess itself of that valuable country I can raise 3000 men in Missouri and Illinois in the course of six months. I am aware that the popular notion now is to advance no man to military honor unless he has been to the Military Academy at West Point, and you might commit yourself and injure your standing as the Chief of the Dept. of War were you to give countenance to my suggestions. That is a matter for your own reflection. Sure I am that with two months reference to the Tactics of the country I can drill a company of horse, a squadron or regiment, equal to any man in the army.

If it would be useful to the department over which you are called to preside I will say further that I can command three men, one whom has been 26 years in the Origon, and the territory on this side of the mountains, and the other two from 16 to 20, all of whom speak the various languages of the Indians inhabiting the country, and would on invitation for small allowance, come to the seat of Government and give explanations.

There is one thing more which I will venture to call your attention to. For the last four years I have made out lists for some ten or twelve companies of Europeans, mostly English, who come here and join some trading company and penetrate the country clear to the Pacific professedly to hunt buffalo or to collect natural curiosities. From the outfits they make and the instruments they take with them the most common observer would at once say these men were sent by the Governments and instructed to make a reconnaisance of the country, and to report their observations. Even now I am preparing the necessary equipage for two Englishmen who leave in a few days for the head of the Yellowstone river and thence to the Wind River Pass in the mountains.

By means of these men the British acquire a perfect knowledge of the country and its resources, and in case of a contest for the maintainance of our rights these will

know more if anything of our own country than we do ourselves. And from what I have seen and gleaned from these men I would not be surprised if there were now to be found in the Library of the British Parliament maps and charts of the country compiled within the last six years which are far superior to anything of the kind in America. I would be highly complimented by a line from you touching the above subject if consistent with your duty as an officer.

I remain, with great respect,

Your Obt Servt,

THORNTON GRIMSLEY.

Hon. J. Bell,
Secty of War.

St. Louis 16th June, 1841

Sir;—

I have just received your favor of the 5th Instant in answer to Col. A. P. Field's letter of previous date.

The reasons assigned for not giving me the invitation in place of Col. O'Fallon, who declined, are perfectly satisfactory, and such as we should always look for from a department of the government as ably managed as the one you have the honor to preside over. I have taken the liberty to address you on several subjects connected, as I thought, with the interests of our own country, since you have been in your present high and honorable station; and have written with a freedom which would have been unwarranted were you not a public officer.

In one or more of my letters to you, and in one to Mr. Tyler, I was free to mention the great advantage which would result to American citizens from an occupancy of the Origon Territory. The present is an extra session, and of course nothing can be done in the business, and at present I will merely refer you to my former letters on the subject with the addition of some late news.

I have received from that country to the following effect. Extract from Capt Harris' letter dated Independence June 4th, 1841, "Your name is well known in the mountains by many of your old friends who would be glad to join the standard of their country, and make a clean sweep of what is called the Origon Territory; that is, to clear it of British and Indians. I was one of the seven hundred who invited you to take command and march through to California, and will be with you if you can get the Government of the United States to authorize the occupancy of the Origon Country. I have been, as you know, 20 years in the mountains. The British have now taken possession of Fort Hall, formerly a trading post of some American trappers, and are repairing and putting it in military customs. Why our Government suffers these things I know not. The North west Company does not only take from our territory from one to two millions of furs and peltries per year but they influence the Blackfeet, and other tribes of Indians, to take our scalps.

"In addition to this they introduce British goods there free of duty, by which they are enabled to sell cheaper than any American can, who purchased British goods in our Eastern cities. Our old friend Bent will hand you this, and I enjoin it upon you to talk with him on the subject."

From the above you can see what is going on in that quarter, and when I have opportunity of verbal intercourse with Col. Bent, above referred to, I shall take the liberty to address you again. Col. B. has been some 20 years in the mountains and Santafee trade.

I remain, with great respect,

Your Ob't Servant,
THORNTON GRIMSLEY.

Honorable John Bell,
Sect'y of War.

COLONEL THORNTON GRIMSLEY

Colonel Thornton Grimsley was born on the 20th of August, 1798, in Bourbon county, Kentucky. His father, Nimrod Grimsley, was a resident of Fauquier county, Virginia, and having a large family removed to Kentucky at an early day, and helped to make up the number of that enterprising population who immigrated to what was considered the richest soil in America. His father and mother did not long live in the new homes which they had chosen, but died during the years 1805 and 1806, leaving a helpless family of eight children.

The subject of this memoir, by the dissolution of his parents, was left an orphan at seven years of age, and three years after losing his parents he was apprenticed to the saddlery business. He served his master faithfully for eleven years, and the only compensation which he received was three months of schooling, yet, by his diligent application to business, and a mind naturally of a superior order, he soon won the respect and confidence of his master, and in 1816 he was sent to St. Louis in charge of a valuable assortment of goods, at which place he completed his term of indenture; and on reaching twenty-one years of age, the first act he performed in his independent manhood, was to return to Kentucky and attend school for six months, from the proceeds of extra work which he had performed during the term of his apprenticeship.

After having exhausted his slender resources, in obedience to the invitation of his old master, Thornton Grimsley returned to St. Louis, and took charge of his business for about fourteen months, and then, feeling that he could succeed better untrammeled by the dictates of a superior, in 1822 he placed his name upon a sign-board, and boldly commenced his fortune.

* * On commencing business for himself he married Miss Susan Stark, of Bourbon county, Kentucky, who was sister of the wife of the master under whom he learned

his trade. Not long after commencing his business, and just as he was beginning to gather the fruits to which his industry entitled him, a fire destroyed the property which he had accumulated during three years of toil, and left him "poor indeed." When his misfortune occurred he was in ill health, but did not waste a moment in idle regrets, and set about immediately in repairing what accident had deprived of, and in a little time he was again advancing in a prosperous career.

From the frankness of his disposition and natural goodness of heart, Thornton Grimsley had always made himself hosts of friends, and in 1826 was elected as alderman, and introduced into that body the subject of grading the wharf in front of the city, and strongly advocated that the western edge should be raised three feet higher than its present grade. Had his proposition been acceded to, Front street would not be inundated at every high flood of the river, and its property would be much more valuable.

In 1828 Colonel Grimsley was called to the legislature of the state, where he was a useful and efficient member. He used his efforts to have completed the national road to Jefferson City, and advocated other important measures. In 1835 he was again elected alderman, and did much settling satisfactorily the important claim of the St. Louis Commons. From this tract was selected Lafayette Park, and the spacious avenues about it. From the liberal dimensions of this park, some of the short-sighted citizens, in derision, called it Grimsley's folly—now it is one of the chief ornaments of our large and growing city.

So useful was Colonel Grimsley in his political life, that in 1838 he was sent to the State Senate, and lent all of his influence for the passage of the bill for the construction of the Iron Mountain Railroad, and also for the establishment of a workhouse.

Though Colonel Grimsley was so liberally rewarded with civic honors he was not unmindful of military glory.

He has filled all of the stations, from an orderly to division inspector; in 1832 he raised a volunteer company and tendered their services to the Governor of Illinois during the Black Hawk war, and in 1836 received from General Jackson a captain's commission in the dragoons of the United States army. He declined this honor as it was in time of peace, and wisely stuck to his business pursuits. He has now been engaged thirty-seven years in his only pursuit, and does now a business of three hundred thousand dollars per annum.

In 1846, in less than twenty days he enrolled a regiment of eight hundred men for the Mexican war, but being politically opposed to the Governor of Missouri, he was refused a commission and another appointed in his stead.

Colonel Grimsley has been the father of ten children, four of whom are now living and happily and prosperously settled in life. He has now amassed a competent fortune, and in the autumn of life is enjoying the fruits with which industry ever rewards the managing and persevering.—*(Edward's Great West, p. 106.)*

Thornton Grimsley, pioneer merchant and manufacturer, was born in Bourbon County, Kentucky, August 20, 1798, and died in St. Louis, December 22, 1861. When he was ten years old he was apprenticed to the saddler's trade, and in 1816, at the end of a long term of service, he was sent to St. Louis in charge of a stock of saddlery goods. In 1822 he opened a store of his own in this city and afterwards became famous in the saddlery trade. He invented and patented the military or dragoon saddle, which was universally approved by the officers of the United States army, and did more work for the government at his manufactory than was done at that time at any other factory in the country. Although he had only limited educational advantages in his youth, he became a

man of broad intelligence, and took a prominent part in public affairs in St. Louis. He was elected to the Missouri Legislature in 1828, and proved a useful member of that body, serving at different times in both branches. In 1839 he received the Whig nomination for Congress, but as his party was largely in the minority he was defeated. He was a prominent member of the Masonic order, and served as grand treasurer of the Grand Lodge of Missouri. For forty years he cultivated and promoted the military taste and spirit in St. Louis and at different times he commanded various military organizations. In 1846 he recruited a regiment for service in the Mexican War, but as a sufficient number of troops had already been raised, his regiment was not mustered into the United States service. He married Miss Susan Stark, of Bourbon County, Kentucky, and at his death left two daughters, Mrs. Henry T. Blow and Mrs. George Stansbury, and one son, John Grimsley.—*(Hyde & Conrad's Encyclopedia of History of St. Louis, v. II, p. 948.)*

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